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ABSTRACT

A report on a study of freshmen women's beliefs about psychological sex differences, attitudes toward sex roles, and ideals of femininity and masculinity is presented. A random sample of 232 freshmen entering a woman's college in September 1979 was studied longitudinally. Study instruments included a scale consisting of 16 propositions regarding psychological sex differences, the Attitudes Towards Women Scale, and the Gough Adjective Check List for "My Ideal Woman" and "My Ideal Man." During fall 1980, the sophomores were readministered the study instruments, and 68 case studies were developed, based on interviews. A summary of the research findings is presented that indicates that the freshmen tended to reject the familiar psychological sex stereotypes and to endorse egalitarian sex roles. The following research areas are examined in depth, with case study illustrations: student transition to college and the vulnerability of freshmen to the first year of college; occupational plans, 1979-1983; life-style preferences, 1979-1983; female and male professors and female peers as agents of socialization for adult roles; and emotional and sexual relationships with men. Appendices include the interview guide and selected questionnaires. (SW)

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A Women's College as an Agent of Socialization for Women's Roles

Principal Investigator, Mirra Komarovsky

N.I.E. Grant G-79-0087

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In the fall of 1980, the original sample still in college (n = 196, response rate of 90 percent) filled out again the set of research instruments measuring the dependent variables. The major research effort of fall 1980 was in securing 70 in-depth interviews (2 two-hour interviews with each) of a sub-sample of our panel. We have located several major problems experienced in transition to college, such as a disorienting loss of identity, an "invisibility" caused by the impersonality of an urban college; culture shock; and various challenges to self-esteem and, more generally, to self-concept when exposed to this heterogeneous and intellectually selective student body. The interviews suggested hypotheses for relative vulnerability of freshmen to the problems of the first year of college and for success and failure of affected freshmen to cope with these developmental tasks.

The data on impact of college on occupational decision-making and on life-style preferences awaits the current on-going study of the panel in its senior year for final analysis.

A Women's College as an Agent of Socialization for Women's Roles

Report

Grant N.I.E., G-79-0087

The enclosed document reports the first stages of the longitudinal study of the class of 1983, beginning with the research completed in the Fall of 1979, covering the input variables of the entering freshmen.

The grant for the completion of the study was not renewed by the NIE. I was able to obtain some support from a private foundation and Barnard College that will enable me to return to the Panel in their Senior year 1982-1983. The total sample of 1979, still in college in the current year (N=174), has already received a set of questionnaires dealing with the major dependent variables (see Appendix). The research design calls for a second set of in-depth interviews with the subsample of 70 students who had been interviewed in their sophomore year.

The materials on the entering freshmen have been analyzed, as reported in the enclosed published article, and a paper is to be submitted for publication (see Chapter 1).

The rest of this report follows the Outline of the book to be published by Basic Books, Inc. when the data of the Senior year of our panel is collected, analyzed, and the results written up.

Women in College: Challenge and Response

The tentative title of the book, the contract for which was signed with Basic Books, Inc.

Outline

Introduction

The theoretical foci. Sample. Research instruments.

The original sample was a random sample, stratified by race and religion, of 620 new freshmen who entered Barnard College in September, 1979. (This sample will be compared with The American Freshman: National Norms for Fall 1979, A. W. Austin et al. Cooperative Institutional Research Program.)

Of the sample originally approached to fill out a set of 15 questionnaires, scales, and other tests, 232 did so, a response rate of 96 percent with n = 232 cases. The high rate of response was in part attained by follow-up telephone calls.

The Appendix includes copies of all research instruments used in 1979 and in 1980.

In addition to the 15 quantitative instruments, we obtained 201 brief interviews with the entering freshmen.

In September 1980, the original sample (minus 14 who withdrew from college), now at the start of their sophomore year, received again the set of questionnaires that measured our outcome or dependent variables. The response rate was 90 percent (n = 196).

The main research operation in the fall of 1980 was the collection of 68 case studies of sophomores in our sample, based on two two-hour

interviews with each student. The Interview Guide, prepared by me and used by me and my associate graduate student interviewers, is included in the Appendix.

For findings of the 1979 and 1980 quantitative operations, see earlier progress reports on Grant G-79-0087. Most of these findings were reported in three papers presented at meetings of the American and Eastern Sociological Associations in 1980 and 1981. See also publication under Chapter 1.

Chapter 1. Life-Style Preferences and Gender Ideology of Entering Freshmen.

See two enclosed articles.

Chapter 2. Transition to College.

See enclosed draft of the chapter.

Chapter 3. Occupational Plans 1979-1983.

See enclosed draft of chapter. This will be revised in the light of the 1983 data and some theoretical reformulations.

Chapter 4. Life-Style Preferences 1979-1983.

Chapter awaits 1983 data.

Chapter 5. Female and Male Professors and Female Peers as Agents of Socialization for Adult Roles.

Chapter awaits further analysis of the 1980 interviews and 1983 data.

Chapter 6. Emotional and Sexual Relationships with Men: Gender Roles in Transition.

See enclosed draft of Chapter 6.

Chapter 7. (Continued)

See enclosed draft of Chapter 7.

Chapter 8. Theoretical Summary.

Study not completed.

Chapter 1

Female Undergraduates View Gender: A Study of Attitude Consistency*

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*This research was done in the Fall of 1979, supported by N.I.E. G-79-0087.

Female Undergraduates View Gender: A Study of Attitude Consistency

ABSTRACT

This article presents data on beliefs about psychological sex differences, attitudes towards sex roles, and ideals of femininity and masculinity, expressed by a random sample (n = 232) of freshmen, entering a woman's college in September 1979. The deliberate replication of instruments used in recent studies permits comparisons with research done at other colleges. The theoretical focus of this research, however, centers on the degree of consistency (and conversely, of independence) that obtains among beliefs about psychological sex differences, attitudes towards sex roles, and ideals of femininity and masculinity. Past research has focused on each of these components of gender phenomena separately. This study, by contrast, examines both interrelationships and disjunctions among them.

Female Undergraduates View Gender: A Study of Attitude Consistency*

Recent decades witnessed several social changes in gender-related attitudes. As to psychological sex differences, the literature began to stress the variation within each sex and the considerable overlap in psychological traits of men and women. Attitudes towards sex roles have changed in the direction of greater egalitarianism. Finally, both in ideology of the feminist movement and in the few existing studies of social attitudes, the ideals of masculinity and femininity have become more "androgynous," with less differentiation in the ideal attributes of the sexes.

This study deals with beliefs about psychological sex differences, attitudes towards sex roles, and ideals of femininity and masculinity as expressed by a sample of female undergraduates.

The deliberate replication of instruments used in some past studies of undergraduates lends a comparative dimension to our findings. We shall note both continuities and differences of our results in relation to some recent investigations.

The theoretical focus of this study, however, lies beyond these comparative perspectives. It centers on the problem of relationships between the individual's beliefs, attitudes towards sex roles, and ideals.

Historically, the societal support for the differentiation in sex roles was buttressed by the belief in significant psychological sex differences. It is plausible to assume that some erosion of that rationale would predispose women to question the traditional differentiation in the social

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roles of the sexes. More specifically, do women who stereotype psychological sex differences tend to subscribe to more traditional definitions of sex roles? Conversely, is a less gender-differentiated perception of female and male personality associated with egalitarian norms and more "androgynous" ideals of femininity and masculinity? These hypotheses remain to be tested. Despite extensive research on each of these separate components, the issue of ideological consistency among them has been relatively neglected. Indeed, beliefs and norms have occasionally been used interchangeably in comparative studies of traditional or egalitarian trends.

The search of the literature found few exceptions to this neglect of the problem of consistency. Thus, Kammeyer (1964) found a moderate relationship between beliefs about psychological sex differences, on the one hand, and attitudes towards selected sex roles, on the other. Nielsen and Doyle (1975), in their study of women undergraduates at the University of Washington in 1970, found that the twenty-three self-styled feminists had a more positive perception of feminine personality than the 114 non-feminists. Rapin and Cooper (1980) found that non-feminists did tend to stereotype psychological sex differences to a greater extent than the feminist undergraduates.

These few exceptions aside, the studies which addressed the issue of attitudinal consistency dealt with a different problem. They compared attitudes towards sex roles within a variety of institutional sectors, with no reference whatever to perceptions of psychological sex differences, or to ideals. (See, for example, Mason and Bumpass, 1975; and Thornton and Freeman, 1979.)

METHOD

The Sample

The present study is based upon a random sample, stratified by race and religion of parents, of the 620 new students who entered a women's college (one of the so-called "seven sisters" Eastern colleges) in September 1979. The 232 freshmen who returned the mailed questionnaries constituted 96 percent of the approached random sample. This unusually high rate of response may perhaps be attributed to a brief reference to the forthcoming study made at the meeting of the incoming freshman class during the freshman orientation.

The respondents were about equally divided among Protestants, Catholics, and Jews. Of the 232 about one-third were Asian-, Black-, and Puerto-Rican-Americans. The majority of parents (62 percent of the fathers and 53 percent of the mothers) were college graduates; some attended but did not finish college, and the rest (25 percent of the fathers and 30 percent of the mothers) had twelve or fewer years of schooling.

Research Instruments

Beliefs

Beliefs about psychological sex differences were ascertained using a scale adapted from Kammeyer (1964), Johnson (1969), and Komarovsky (1976). The scale consists of sixteen propositions asserting a particular psychological sex difference, e.g., "Men are more original than women," "Women tend to be pettier than men" with five options for each statement: "agree; agree somewhat; uncertain; disagree somewhat; disagree".

Subjects were given a total score by summing up the arbitrary weights

assigned to response categories (1 for "agree," 2 for "agree somewhat," 3 for "uncertain," 4 for "disagree somewhat," and 5 for "disagree"). The low scorers endorsed the assertions of psychological sex differences. Conversely, the high scorers rejected the tendency to stereotype each sex, either positively or negatively. Possible scores ranged from 16 to 80. Those with scores under 50, were classified as stereotypers and those scoring 50 and over as non-stereotypers.

Attitudes towards sex roles

Attitudes towards sex roles were measured by the 15-item Attitudes Towards Women Scale developed by Spence and Helmreich (1972). This scale consists of 15 statements regarding the roles, rights, and privileges of women, e.g., "Swearing and obscenity are more repulsive in the speech of a woman than a man," or "Under modern conditions with women being active outside the home, men should share in household tasks such as washing dishes and doing the laundry" -- with four response options, from "strongly agree," "agree mildly," "disagree mildly," "disagree strongly." High scores represent egalitarian attitudes and, conversely, low scores the traditional ones. Possible scores range from 0 to 45, with those scoring 37 and over classified as egalitarians and those scoring 36 or under, the traditionalists.

Ideals of femininity and masculinity

The freshmen in this study filled out the Gough Adjective Check List (ACL: Gough and Heilbrun, 1965) for "My Ideal Woman" and "My Ideal Man." The scoring procedure for classification of "feminine" and "masculine" qualities was based on methods of Sherriffs and McKee (1957). Having classified the traits checked by freshmen for "My Ideal Man" and "My Ideal Woman," the score was based on the ratio of feminine to masculine traits. Thus,

for "My Ideal Woman," a score of 1 would be obtained by a student who checked as many stereotypically "feminine" as "masculine" traits in depicting the feminine ideal. The higher the score, the more stereotypically "feminine" is the ideal. A score below 1 reflects the infusion of "masculine" traits as attributes of the ideal woman.

A similar procedure was followed in scoring of "My Ideal Man". A score of 1 and over would indicate a more stereotypically "manly" ideal, while a lower score was the result of inclusion of stereotypically "feminine" traits in the image of the ideal man.

RESULTS

Beliefs about Psychological Sex Differences: Extent of Stereotyping

The tendency to stereotype feminine and masculine psychological traits has been demonstrated repeatedly. For earlier studies, see Fernberger (1948); McKee and Sherriffs (1957); Rosenkrantz et al. (1968); and Broverman et al. (1970, 1972). Freeman, using male and female undergraduates in psychology classes, reported that "both female and male subjects continue to believe that sex-role stereotypic differences exist between the average female and the average male" (1979: 103). As late as 1980, Lueptow confirmed stereotypic perceptions of male and female personalities among undergraduates in 1974 and again in 1977, with high consensus between the sexes in the traits attributed to each sex. A contrary finding, showing some erosion of psychological stereotyping, was found by Petro and Putnam (1979), but their subjects were practicing school counselors with the mean age of about forty years.

Against this background of past research, the beliefs of our respondents

represent quite a radical denial of the stereotypical psychological sex differences. The possible range of scores was from 16 to 80, with the high scores indicating rejection of stereotypes and, conversely, the low scores reflecting an endorsement of the traditional sex stereotypes. Out of 230 respondents, 188 or 81.7 percent had scores of 50 and over and only 42 or 18.3 percent scored under 50.

There is another way of conveying the rejection of psychological stereotyping of the sexes by our sample. Of 16 statements implying various psychological differences, only 5 were upheld by 10 percent or more of the respondents. The percentage of the sample who believed in the existence of sex differences fell below 10 percent for the eleven out of the remaining traits.

If our findings are exceptional in the denial of sex stereotypes, this divergence may in part be the result of methodological differences. The familiar past instruments, used to measure stereotyping, often include bipolar questions, e.g. "not at all aggressive" to "very aggressive," asking the respondent to mark on a continuum the "typically male" or "typically female" traits. It is difficult to escape the suspicion that these references to "typical" male or female evoke the traditional stereotypes and in turn reveal merely the familiarity with the stereotypes rather than "operative" perceptions of sex differences (see Komarovsky, 1976: 19 and Lueptow, 1980: 139 for similar observations).

The erosion of the belief in strong psychological sex differences, demonstrated by our sample, is not likely to be solely an artifact of different methods. At least two past studies using methods similar to ours,

Kammeyer (1964) and Komarovsky (1976), found a greater tendency to stereotype sex differences. Our sample may be exceptional or we may be witnessing a more general shift away from traditional stereotyping of psychological sex differences.

Attitudes Towards Sex Roles

The possible scores on the Attitudes Towards Women Scale ranged from 0 to 45, with high scores representing feminist or egalitarian attitudes and low scores the traditional ones. Of the 226 respondents, 135 or 59.7 percent had scores of 37 and over (the egalitarians) and 91 or 40.3 percent scored 36 or under (the traditionalists).

These freshmen were more egalitarian than samples of female undergraduates in other recent studies know to the authors, using identical or comparable methods. For example, Parelius (1975) reported that 76 percent of Douglass College freshmen in 1973 (a college she describes as being "especially sensitive to women's issues") gave feminist responses to the expectation that a husband should help with housework. The comparable figure in the current study was 97.9 percent. Similarly, female undergraduates at the University of Texas at Austin (predominantly freshmen) who completed the Spence and Helmreich Scale in 1980 also gave more traditional responses than students in this study.**

Further research will be required to ascertain the extent to which these egalitarian attitudes reflect a general trend among women undergraduates as against the selective character of students at this Eastern

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**The authors gratefully acknowledge the permission to cite this reference to an as yet unpublished paper, "Sex-Role Attitudes: 1979-80" by R. L. Helmreich, J. T. Spence, and R. H. Gibson.

women's college. It is likely that both factors are at work. Other recent studies, however, cited in this article have also confirmed, if to a lesser extent, a shift towards more egalitarian gender orientations. As to the unique characteristics of our sample, "A Profile of Women's Colleges (The Women's College Coalition, 1980) reported that freshmen women at 117 women's colleges are nearly twice as likely as all freshmen women to plan to become physicians, lawyers, and Ph.D.'s.

Ideals of Femininity and Masculinity

In filling out the Adjective Check List for "My Ideal Woman" and "My Ideal Man," the female freshmen gave a relatively strong endorsement to an "androgynous" ideal of both sexes. Only one recent study known to the authors, Freeman (1979), found few differences between female conceptualization of the "ideal female" and the "ideal male".

How "feminine" was the ideal woman of the female freshmen? As was indicated, the score of 1 would be obtained if the respondent checked as many traditionally "feminine" as "masculine" attributes. The higher the score the more "feminine" was the "ideal woman". The mean score for the "ideal woman" was 1.11, with the standard deviation of .27. The striking finding is the low mean, indicating that the entering students expected their "ideal woman" to possess also many stereotypically male traits.

The feminine traits checked by the freshmen were familiar enough: affectionate, pleasant, sentimental, artistic, kind, tactful, sociable, sensitive. Eighty-four percent of the sample checked "imaginative"; 72 percent, "patient"; 72 percent, "helpful"; 66 percent, "trusting"; 42 percent, "idealistic"; 37 percent, "cautious"; and the like.

The more surprising finding was the extent to which the image of "My Ideal Woman" for these young women in 1979 included qualities representing action, vigor, rational competence, and effectiveness. Women undergraduates in McKee and Sherriffs' 1959 study had also chosen many similar qualities for both "ideal self" and "ideal man". The difference is one of degree — with the 1979 sample accentuating the high evaluation of traits such as the following: "ambitious" (checked as an attribute of "My Ideal Woman" by 98 percent of our sample); "active" (89 percent); "independent" (86 percent); "adventurous" (79 percent); "determined" (77 percent); "forceful" (61 percent); "courageous" (61 percent); and "assertive" (an adjective not included in the 1959 study), chosen by 73 percent of our sample.

For the sample as a whole, the mean score for "My Ideal Man" was 1.03, with standard deviation of .34. Both the "ideal woman" (mean score 1.11) and the "ideal man" (mean score 1.03) represented a nearly even mix of stereotypically masculine and feminine qualities, but of the two, the image of the ideal man contained relatively more traits generally attributed to the opposite sex. The lower male score of 1.03 is the result of the numerous expressive qualities expected of "My Ideal Man".

For example, the adjectives "warm," "affectionate," "sensitive" were each checked by over 85 percent of the sample, whereas only 50 percent included "aggressive" as an attribute of their ideal man. A possible explanation of these findings was supplied by the students in several interviews. In reflecting upon the check lists, they surmised that the gender stereotypes served as a background against which they projected their "androgynous"

ideals. Women, they claimed, needed to acquire more assertiveness and independence, whereas men should ideally possess more expressive qualities. Komarovsky's (1982) caveat about the use of similar check lists no doubt applies here: an attribute may be stressed precisely because of its problematic character while an equally valued trait is omitted because its existence is taken for granted.

Degree of Consistency Among Beliefs, Sex-Role Attitudes, and Ideals of Femininity and Masculinity

Our findings point to a significant association between beliefs about psychological sex differences and attitudes towards sex roles. More specifically, the tendency to stereotype psychological sex differences is related to more traditional sex-role attitudes. Conversely, respondents who reject the psychological stereotypes are more likely to embrace egalitarian sex roles. Out of 77 "high" stereotypers, 63.6 percent are traditional in their sex-role attitudes and 36.4 percent are egalitarian. Of 147 "low" stereotypers, only 29.3 percent are traditional in attitudes towards sex roles and, conversely, 70.7 percent are egalitarian. (See Table 1.)

(Table 1 here)

The question posed at the outset: "Do women who stereotype psychological sex differences tend to subscribe to more traditional definitions of sex roles?" is, thus, answered in the affirmative. Nonetheless, the deviant cells are significant. Of 77 young women who perceive the sexes to differ in psychological traits, 36.4 percent opt for symmetrical or egalitarian role allocations. Conversely, out of the 147 women who deny

the existence of psychological sex differences, 29.3 percent uphold traditional sex-role stereotypes.

We turn now to the relationships between sex-role attitudes and ideals of femininity and masculinity. Here, again, logical consistency would seem to dictate some significant association. Traditional role segregation would appear to require more "feminine" or "expressive" women and more "masculine" or "instrumental" men than is the case when the sexes are expected to play less differentiated and more egalitarian roles.

There is a slight but not a statistically significant relationship in the expected direction for "My Ideal Woman". Of 91 women with traditional sex-role attitudes, 76.9 percent projected a "feminine" ideal of femininity, whereas of 131 egalitarian women, only 67.2 percent upheld the more stereotypically "feminine" ideal of womanhood. Table 2 presents the result.

(Tables 2 and 3 here)

When it comes to the ideal of masculinity projected by these young women, their sex-role attitudes had no relationship whatsoever to this ideal. The strong emphasis on expressive traits in the "ideal man" reported in the preceding pages characterized equally women with traditional and egalitarian sex-role attitudes. (See Table 3.)

We have also examined the relationships between beliefs about psychological sex differences and ideals of femininity and masculinity. Interestingly enough, here again the ideal of femininity appears to be more related to the other factor in the "equation" than the ideal of masculinity. Women who believed in psychological sex stereotypes described a more

traditionally feminine ideal of women, in contrast to women rejecting psychological stereotypes. However, as seen in Table 4, this association is not statistically significant. Table 5 shows the beliefs about psychological sex differences bear no relationship to the image of the "ideal man".

(Tables 4 and 5 here)

DISCUSSION

In comparison with other published studies of women undergraduates, our results are quite radical. The freshmen, class of 1983, tend to reject the familiar psychological sex stereotypes and to endorse egalitarian sex roles. In depicting their ideal of femininity and masculinity, they on balance maintain traditional images, but only barely so, since they include many hitherto "masculine" qualities in portrayal of the ideal woman and their ideal man has many expressive attributes in the past viewed as typically feminine. One interviewed freshman reported that her boyfriend, looking over her Adjective Check List for "My Ideal Man," exclaimed: "But you have described a woman, not a man!"

Our results, though somewhat more extreme, nevertheless confirm the findings of cited recent studies which also point to a shift in attitudes of female undergraduates, especially their greater egalitarianism.

So strong a shift away from traditional attitudes puts in question the continued usefulness of some standard scales. These measures are losing their discriminative power. The researcher who continues to use them for the value of replication is forced to contrast the minorities at the

extremes of the sample and is deflected from the task of devising new measures, more appropriate to the emerging gender attitudes. A similar scepticism about the continued use of the Attitudes Towards Women Scale was expressed by Zuckerman (1981, p. 1124). Methodological innovations are also indicated in measuring beliefs about psychological sex differences. The traditional stereotypes of females and males are, of course, still generally familiar to college respondents. The researcher must construct a measure that does not reflect merely this familiarity with the traditional stereotypes but taps the respondent's own perception of psychological sex differences.

A significant association was found between the tendency to stereotype psychological sex differences and attitudes towards sex roles. By dichotomizing the scores for each variable, we found that those who tended to accept the traditional stereotypes about sex differences also upheld more traditional sex roles. Conversely, the non-stereotypers endorsed more egalitarian sex roles.

Nevertheless, the deviant cells in this relationship between beliefs and sex-role attitudes were pronounced enough to warrant caution in their interchangeable use in comparative studies of trends in gender ideology. The disjunction between the stereotyping of female and male personalities, on the one hand, and attitudes towards sex roles on the other, poses a problem for future research. How to account for respondents who deny any psychological differences between the sexes and still expect them to play different social roles in various institutional spheres? And, again, why do others who accept the traditional stereotypes nevertheless opt for the

more "modern," or egalitarian version of sex roles? These issues remain to be explored.

Some ideological consistency extended to the ideal of femininity, though too slight to be statistically significant. The greater the stereotyping of sex differences, the less egalitarian the sex-role norms, the more traditional was the ideal of femininity and vice versa.

These weak relationships break down completely when it comes to the ideal of masculinity. The stereotypers and the non-stereotypers, the traditionalists and the egalitarians alike all projected a similar image of an ideal man with many expressive attributes. We suggested that all check lists of desired qualities must be interpreted critically. Attributes may be stressed not only because they are highly valued but because of their problematic character. Thus, for example, working class women when asked to list attributes of a "good husband," ranked "being a good provider" higher than did college educated women (Yankelovitch, 1974). It is doubtful that this difference indicates the more pronounced materialism of working class women. College educated respondents might have simply taken such economic abilities for granted.

This disclaimer does not nullify the significance of our finding that female freshmen, whatever their beliefs and sex-role norms, want expressive attributes of sensitivity, warmth, and the like in a man. They may have deemphasized some traditional "manly" attributes because they have taken them for granted. The significant fact, however, is precisely that the expressive qualities have become "problematic" and desired.

The higher consistency of orientations involving women may stem from the almost exclusive emphasis on women's roles in the current feminist literature (and its portrayal in mass media). Such an emphasis may be expected to stimulate reflection, bring hidden contradictions to light, and create a strain towards greater ideological consistency in reference to women than to men.

Another hypothesis, which our data cannot test, relates to the stage of the life cycle of female respondents as one determinant of ideals of masculinity. Young women, at the average age of 18, express their longing for gentle, warm, and supportive men. Instrumental traits that ensure success in the marketplace may assume relatively greater importance as these young women marry and raise families.

Table 1. Stereotyping Psychological Sex Differences and Attitudes Towards Sex Roles

	Attitudes Towards Sex Roles		
Stereotyping	Traditional Percent	Egalitarian Percent	
High	63.6	36.4	n = 77
Low	29.3	70.7	n = 147

$X^2 = 23.284$ Sig.=.000

Table 2. Sex-Role Attitudes and "My Ideal Woman"

Sex-Role Attitudes	"My Ideal Woman"		
	"Feminine" Percent	Androgynous Percent	
Traditional	76.9	23.1	n = 91
Egalitarian	67.2	32.8	n = 131

$X^2 = 2.034$ Sig. = .154

Table 3. Sex-Role Attitudes and "My Ideal Man"

Sex-Role Attitudes	"My Ideal Man"		
	"Masculine" Percent	Androgynous Percent	
Traditional	46.7	53.3	n = 92
Egalitarian	40.2	59.3	n = 132

$X^2 = .711$ Sig. = .399

Table 4. Stereotyping Psychological Sex Differences and "My Ideal Woman"

Stereotyping	"My Ideal Woman"		
	"Feminine" Percent	Androgynous Percent	
High	79.2	20.8	n = 77
Low	67.6	32.4	n = 148

$X^2 = 2.831$ Sig. = .092

Table 5. Stereotyping Psychological Sex Differences and "My Ideal Man"

Stereotyping	"My Ideal Man"		
	"Masculine" Percent	Androgynous Percent	
High	43.8	56.3	n = 80
Low	42.2	57.8	n = 147

$X^2 = .008$ Sig. = .930

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Chapter 2

Chapter 2. Transition to College

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Chapter 2. Transition to College

Introduction.

Whether they approached it with idealized expectations or were apprehensive, the freshmen regarded transition to college as a major step towards adulthood. They were quite explicit about the developmental tasks ahead. They must now wean themselves from dependence upon their parents; learn to establish relationships with a variety of classmates; develop self-discipline for demanding college study without the supportive supervision of secondary schools.

Those not already involved in a committed relationship with a man, hoped that college would bring new or more satisfactory relationships, whether they adhered to the value of premarital chastity or felt, as expressed by one student, that "One of my chief priorities upon coming to college was to lose my virginity -- not promiscuously, but in a loving relationship." In contrast to this virgin, a few students who have had an exclusive relationship with a man and who felt that "they were missing out on something" had other hopes. As one freshman put it: "I felt that college would be the time to make a new beginning and enjoy a new freedom. I wanted to see what it would be like to play the field."

The reality of the first months of college, "knowledge by experience," brought many unexpected challenges, disappointments, and satisfactions. This chapter will focus upon some typical problems experienced by the majority, including both maladaptive and successful patterns of coping. The freshmen, especially those who moved into college residences at a distance from parental homes, generally

experienced a loss of former supports at a time when the new environment presented many unfamiliar demands. We shall allude to instrumental chores of daily existence. But the transition to college required the discovery of norms operative in the new milieu, the improvisation of new roles, the learning of new skills, coming to terms with changes in self-concept and self-esteem, coping with the "culture shock" in a heterogeneous student body. Since it is impossible to maximize all valued goals simultaneously, one is always confronted with the problem of striking an optimum balance between competing goals. But this the freshmen had to accomplish frequently in ignorance of existing norms and, therefore, also of the risks inherent in alternative decisions. The resulting trials and errors, with few guidelines, occasionally proved costly.

Resident students in college dormitories or apartments had to assume responsibility for care of room, laundry, shopping, and often meals. A student who kept a journal for us described the additional problems of living in an apartment close to but off campus. "This college," she wrote, "takes it for granted that the student is capable to deal with all the complications of living in the city. In my apartment, I have to deal with roaches, defrosting the refrigerator, dealing with the phone company, a flasher across the airshaft, etc. I walk up and down the city street searching for the lowest price for strawberries. I have to stick to a budget and decide what's important to spend money on and what isn't. I converse with my neighbors and the few people I meet daily on the street. I ignore the men who think

they can leer at me as a matter of course and I know what I can do to try to protect myself from threatening people and situations."

Moving into a more structured college dormitory still creates problems of noise, temperature, standards of cleanliness, taste in furnishings. What frustrations should one tolerate in order not to alienate potential friends? One student found her two suitemates casual about paying bills and doing housekeeping chores. Made too uncomfortable by this disorder, she was prepared to assume more than her fair share of responsibilities. But would she thereby acquire the reputation of being a "heavy," a reputation which her suitemates would certainly convey to the male friends frequenting the apartment? Similarly, how does one strike a balance between the wish for privacy and the desire for sociability? Does one keep the door to one's room open, can a visitor come in by knocking at any time, or, on the other hand, does one set limits to protect sleep and study? The norms governing relationship between roommates have to be learned. One freshman wanted to spend the night with her boyfriend but her roommate was sick. Should she return early to attend to the sick friend? If she doesn't, will she, <u>should</u> she feel guilty?

A boyfriend from another college comes to visit and a freshman expected her roommate to accommodate her by moving out for the night. The indignant roommate refused, only to wonder subsequently whether such a request was generally deemed to be a legitimate expectation. Incidentally, this particular situation remained troublesome even when roommates shared the same values, as reported in a freshman journal:

> If the two are good friends, they both feel guilty: the one who imposes this problem, and the one who has the option of thwarting her friend's love life. In a case like this, it usually goes on for as long as the person who is alone can tolerate it or until the couple starts to feel uncomfortable. The person who is alone usually gives in to the boyfriend spending the night because if she says "no," she will either a) seem jealous or b) seem to have sexual hangups of her own. So she says nothing. But then the couple begins to feel guilty for imposing on the girl. Having been on both sides of the fence, I find this a situation to be avoided like the plague.

Again, a freshwoman in a coed dormitory was disturbed by the loud rock music played late into the night by freshman males. The latter, in turn, were indignant at her request for quiet. Wasn't a degree of

rowdy freedom, they remonstrated, now free of parental nagging, exactly "what college life was all about?"

Another illustration of conflicting expectations of college life is drawn from the section of the interviews dealing with female-male relationships. A freshwoman met, during a freshman orientation week, a youth entering the coordinate male college. She described him as "kind of rumpled, cute, innocent looking, and very friendly." He was fun to be with until he made it known that his agenda for the first month of college was "to get himself a woman," a sexual partner and one, "he hinted at it a lot," who would do his laundry and bake cookies for him. "I hate cookies," the girl exclaimed, "and I told him that he is really barking up the wrong tree with that one." This friendship was short-lived.

One universal task confronting all freshmen, whether residents or commuters, was that of organizing an effective schedule of study, indeed, of allocating time in general. How much to study? How to review for exams? What to do with an hour between classes? Unlike the high school, the college places the responsibility for effective use of time upon the student, and many were slow in recognizing this fact. In the absence of the accustomed reminders and checks, they felt adrift. Only a minority was satisfied with self-disciplined habits of work. Following is an excerpt from the interview with one such adjusted student. This freshman, satisfied with her own steady pace of three to four hours of studying every evening, described her classmates:

> "I had heard stories about people pulling all nighters a couple of times a week. I don't think that's the proper say to study, even for an exam. I worked hard

> and was very conscientious, but I worked regular hours. I was always prepared for class, but I didn't go crazy and over-prepare. The people I've met basically fall into two groups: those who never come to class, never seem to study, and always want to borrow your notes before an exam, and those who aren't happy unless they've pulled two or three all nighters every week, whether we are having an exam or not. One example, for our geology exam we had to answer four essay-type questions. I prepared my four questions and concentrated on being able to give good answers to those four questions. One woman in the class studied for a week and knew all of the material that had been covered in the first half of the semester. She was so over-prepared that she couldn't answer the specific essay questions and thus did poorly on the exam. I got an A. In comparison to the other women, I think I've worked hard, as hard as they did, but I was more focused in my work. Maybe my study habits are better." (Case)

In contrast to the sturdy students who were satisfied with their approach to studying, others were influenced by their classmates in various directions. One student from a demanding high school was "surprised and really shocked" at the outset by the "lackadaisical" attitude of many classmates and by the college leniency towards late papers and incompletes. Towards the end of the semester, she herself adopted that relaxed attitude and seldom turned in her own assignments on time.

A change in study habits in the opposite direction was reported by a freshman who found college work much harder than she had anticipated. She was disappointed in her early grades and began to watch the study habits of her friends. She soon realized that the pattern of studying which worked for her in high school would not do in college. She was in the habit of letting the less interesting work slide and then cram as hard as she could before exams. Her college friends, on the other hand, kept up with all their courses throughout the semester and then

were relaxed before exams. She watched them organize their work, was impressed, and tried to emulate them.

At the other extreme were students who could not cope. Some sense of the struggle to keep afloat is conveyed by a journal of one such freshman:

> "After staying up very late to type a paper, I missed my alarm and didn't make class. I decided to skip the rest of my classes because I had a midterm the next day. . .I had also missed a few classes before the winter break because I had been studying for other midterms.
>
> . . .I had my suitemate's boyfriend wake me early so I could study some more. He woke me at 8:30, but between showering and talking to my suitemates, I didn't start studying until 10:00. I skipped my first two classes in order to keep studying for another test."

This student had two incompletes at the end of the first semester.

The proper allocation of time becomes especially disturbing when criticism of some significant other is added to the conflicts the student experiences herself:

> "I am forced to spend long days in the library or else I won't make it through this college. It isn't easy to keep to the grind, especially on warm days when I wish I could hang around on the lawn and meet some guys. God knows there are so few chances here to enjoy social life. I got upset when my mother, who was always proud of my being a good student, suddenly told me not to spend so many hours in the library. I didn't like it and told her to let me handle my own life. The worst part of being in college is not having enough time to do the things that matter to you."

"No One Knows My Name" -- The Lonely Multitude

A college that is part of a large university, located in the midst of a metropolis, cannot provide the gemeinschaft enjoyed by students in a self-contained small residential college. We were not prepared, however, for the acute feeling of isolation experienced by a large number of freshmen. Neither, apparently, were they. For many, the experience of anonymity in a social group to which they presumably belonged was disturbing. As one freshman put it: "I went for days without talking to anyone and it was depressing to walk across the campus and not even see a familiar face." She felt "lonely and intimidated, as if I didn't really belong at the college."

Such isolation in the midst of dense collective activity in packed elevators, in classrooms, libraries, and cafeterias creates not only loneliness but a sense of disorienting loss of identity. Lack of communication results in "pluralistic ignorance" of the extent to which this emotion is shared by others. This, in turn, explains the recurrent complaint of cold indifference on the part of classmates. "I was surprised," remarked a freshman, "how cold people were. No one reached out to me, no one stopped me after class to talk, no one on this campus wanted to form a friendship." Again, "People just come in and out of class and that's it. You don't even see them on the campus." "I used to walk into the lunchroom," said another puzzled freshman, "and see people sitting there by themselves eating, looking down into their plates as if they didn't want to meet another's eye."

Some insight into such lunchroom behavior is provided in an excerpt from another interview. This freshman admitted that when she does have

lunch in the college cafeteria, she eats quickly, looking down at her plate in order not to appear as lonely and insecure as she feels. She was all the more surprised by her behavior because in high school she "always felt secure and never had any difficulties in making friends." Entering college, however, she felt so shy that she often skipped lunch so as not to eat alone. She had attempted once to strike up a conversation with a stranger but was put off by a cold response.

An editorial in the student newspaper, published during the freshman orientation week, sought to prepare the incoming student for the impersonality of the new environment but, judging by the interviews, the printed forewarning was not a sufficient remedy. The editorial, in fact, captures the mood of the freshmen and is, therefore, reproduced here:

> "You're all out in the wilderness now, away from your homes and your roots, wandering around trying to spot where you can settle down -- you are trying to fit in. But there is no 'in' at (this University). The first thing you're going to have to learn about student life after orientation is that there isn't any. No, you are not going to die, but a lot of the time you're going to feel that no one at this school would really care if you did.
>
> The basic attitude. . .is that, if you are a student at this school, you know how to handle yourself. . . how to select your courses, find your way around the (city), handle all the emotional traumas that come with being a student. . ."

Several interviews qualified the portrayal of cold indifference of the college environment by reporting further intricacies in patterns of interaction. The first few days of freshman orientation are characterized by friendly gregariousness: "People assume that they are all strangers in the same boat and they approach each other

freely," reminisced one freshman: "But this cools down very fast. After a while no one knows what's accepted or not accepted and I was afraid to give the impression of being lost and stupid. Everyone, except me, appeared to be walking briskly and knowing where they were going. This added to my sense of insecurity."

A similar opinion was expressed by another freshman: "At first it was still respectable to go up to somebody and introduce yourself because everybody was new. Later this would be considered rather forward, you might be barging in when little groups have already formed."

Although the initial sense of isolation was quite pervasive, its intensity and duration varied as did the patterns of coping. For some, as we shall demonstrate, the whole experience resulted in positive personality development, a few experienced disorganization lasting into their sophomore year.

Underlying the variations are both social and psychological factors. Some of these modify the intensity of the stimulus, others pertain to the vulnerability of the students to similar pressures. For example, freshmen who happen to enter college together with one or more high school friends enjoyed the reassurance provided by these prior friendships. One student who moved into the dormitory with two old friends testified: "I was lucky. I didn't have to make the adjustment of living in a little box with total strangers." Nor did she feel lonely. "I didn't have to enter the dining room alone and face all those unfriendly strangers." She was not one, she explained, to go to a pick-up bar and be a part of the "meat market". Neither would she

walk into a restaurant unaccompanied and have people wonder why she was sitting there alone.

Residence in college dormitories generally, but not invariably, facilitated initial social adjustment. This presupposed some degree of congeniality which was occasionally lacking. "No two people on my floor were alike," complained one student. "Some were eggheads, some druggies, some punks. It was as though, when I looked at them, they weren't well-rounded people with whom I could associate."

Other social factors affected the students' vulnerability to identical objective conditions. Types of communities and secondary schools students came from played a part in their reactions: "College was a very cold place," explained a freshman who came from a small high school with 36 students in her graduating class. On the first day of college she was late for her biology class and had to walk through a class of 350 students, larger than her entire high school. She felt sure that adjustment to college would have been easier had she been a resident student with a roommate as a friend.

Paradoxically, racial, ethnic, and religious minorities, however alienated some may have felt within the dominant community, enjoyed an advantage. The freshman orientation week was so structured as to put members of some minorities in touch with one another and religious clubs on campus served a similar function. The social affiliations bound students into segregated groups, occasionally against their better judgment. "I have always opposed," confessed one freshman, "segregation along racial and ethnic lines. After all, one of the major advantages of college is supposedly to break down such divisions.

But, here I am, having joined my own group at the outset, I now feel bound to it." Not every member of a minority could take advantage of such opportunity for ready made affiliation. We shall examine in a following chapter the case of an Asian student who, partly because of class differences, would not identify herself with her racial group. Her story illuminates some advantages and costs of marginality.

The desperate overtones of loneliness are evident in sacrifices made by some freshmen in the interests of "belonging". One student clung to a girl she had known in high school and the clique formed around this friend despite her strong disapproval of their values. She found them superficial, materialistic, not interested in studies or in careers, and concerned only with finding a husband. She had nothing in common with their Gucci outfits. But she needed to be able to say hello to someone and to be with some familiar classmates. In order to preserve some sort of identity she "used to show up looking like a slob" and being criticized for her appearance. Apparently this role of a rebel was the best compromise she could make between her self-esteem, on the one hand, and the need to "belong," on the other.

The students themselves, in seeking to account for differences in initial adjustment to the college community, were much more prone to invoke psychological than social explanations. A student expressed the generally held view:

> "You have to be outgoing and friendly and not afraid to reach out to people. People who are shy probably have a lot of trouble making friends here because no one is likely to walk right up to you and start a conversation."

By contrast, a shy student is generally quite aware of her handicap:

> "The mere anticipation of meeting all these people scared me. My small high school was like a great family and I had been to only two formal parties in my life. I felt inept and very insecure entering this college."

It is against this background that we can understand the warm appreciation so frequently expressed for professors who "know my name!" It is as if this recognition reestablishes the lost identity.

Sooner or later the great majority of the freshmen did form friendships and learned to cope with the impersonality of the total community. Some students, indeed, testified to the maturational effect of the initial crisis of transition. The impersonality of the campus, the very frequency with which classmates were seen walking, eating, studying alone tended to remove the stigma attached to it. This in turn meant that in situations when a person in fact preferred solitude she could choose it without the sense of being deviant.

The greater freedom to follow one's preference without humiliation is illustrated by the following excerpt from an interview: "I was surprised to see so many people sitting by themselves in the college cafeteria. Some were eating with their face in a book, signaling that they didn't want to be bothered." She explained that, eventually, she herself was no longer afraid of being alone. In high school she didn't like to eat lunch by herself and she always found someone or a crowd of people to eat lunch with. Now she just walks into _____ Hall, gets her lunch and sits down and isn't afraid of what other people will think. She said she's not so needy for people now, that she actually enjoys being alone, that because her schedule is so busy she never really has

time to be with herself. It's restful therefore to just sit by herself and eat. Nevertheless, she still wouldn't go out and eat alone in a restaurant, she would imagine people thinking: "Oh, that poor person. She has nobody to eat with."

"When I came to this campus," reflected another student, "I had a lot of growing up to do. In high school I had six close friends and I was very happy that way. But now I learned to deal with some people casually, on a superficial level. Before coming to college, I didn't see this as being a valuable asset. But now I've learned that this is important not only in order to survive on this campus but in jobs and in life in general. And I have learned to do it."

Not all freshmen made so satisfactory an adjustment to the impersonality of the college. A few students, either as a result of severe psychological difficulties (or some combination of these and cultural differences) were so completely isolated from classmates as to experience depression. This isolation was especially painful for students who lived in the dorm and had no family to return to every evening. Some of these students suffered a loss of self-esteem, others projected their difficulties upon the environment. In any case, they were relatively insulated from social interaction with peers. Following are some excerpts from an interview with a student who withdrew from college at the end of her sophomore year. This student was disappointed in her courses ("I got a batch of rotten teachers"), but even more so in her classmates. In her own words:

> (074) "I just can't stand the girls here. They are so petty and competitive. For example, when I would speak up in class, someone would always but in and make some inane comment just to show off. That happened to me so many times. I don't mind if someone has a new thought to discuss, but you could tell they were just doing it to show off. . .They are very competitive on every level. . . .It's amazing how competitive they are about clothes and appearance. I used to love to go shopping and dress up. But now, I refuse to wear beautiful clothes because I don't want to be involved in that kind of petty competition. I refuse to walk around and let some girl size me up. The women are so shallow here. The competition is so terrible. It exists everywhere here. . .They are also sexually competitive. It's important to them how many dates you have and how many looks you get from men. Men are used as a measuring stick of how sexy you are. I've never seen anything like it. It really bothers my soul. I know I'm always being judged by all these little females. That's why I'm not attracted to many women here. I isolate myself from those kind of people. . . I don't associate with anyone but my roommate here."

Another freshman, the only Jew among her suitemates, felt that they were anti-Semitic. In any case, they practically shunned her, never inviting her to join them at mealtime or other activities. After her disastrous experiences at the beginning of the year with her suitemates, she felt very shy about reaching out to other people. At the time of the interview, in her sophomore year, she overcame the isolation by frequent visits home and long visits with her high school firends who go to other colleges; this, she admitted, at the expense of her academic work.

The students who failed so completely to establish some social relationships by the end of the freshmen year constituted, to repeat, a very small minority.

Finally, some lonely students who lived within commuting distance from home, clung to old high school and summer camp friends. These ties, whatever security they provided during the transition to college,

generally proved to be tenuous. Interviews with the sophomores showed that those high school friends who were accessible during the weekends home either did not go to college or attended local colleges. Sophomores attributed a certain mutual estrangement to increasing differences in interests and values. The sophomores may have come from a higher socio-economic background than their "local" friends. In any case, this sense of estrangement from high school cliques may serve as an indirect sign of the changes this Ivy League college has wrought in them. Sooner or later, except for a very small minority, the students began to form friendships with their college classmates and shifted their allegiance away from former hometown cliques.

Self-Concept and Self-Esteem

Late adolescence is characterized by the insistent press of two questions: "What kind of person am I: bright, shy, warm, sexy, selfish, moody, ambitious. . .?" and "What kind of person do I want to be?"

In search for answers, the freshman scrutinizes her peers and professors for clues both as to her own personality and her ideals. In the words of one freshman: "What is this girl with her head in the books all the time up to? Should I be like her?"

This watchful scrutiny may be disturbing both in the new insights into oneself and in the confusion about ideals.

We shall begin with academic performance and discuss other changes in self-concept in the following section on "Culture Shock".

For some students the level of academic achievement during the freshman year did not constitute a problem. Of the interviewed students, some did as well or even better than they had expected. (Figures.) A few were so preoccupied with other experiences that they attached little significance to grades as long as they did not fail courses.

The more typical crisis of self-confidence in a highly selective college is experienced when superior students, now in competition with equally able peers, have to change their ranking on the totem pole. One freshman, who did not receive a single A on her first set of college examinations, was shaken: "I was having trouble adjusting to the idea that I was just average. I had never been average in my life." "I came to college feeling very confident," reported another freshman, "because I was at the top of my high school class, a member of a small group of elites.

But the very first day of classes, it hit me when students would raise their hands and give these really brilliant comments and I felt that they were a lot smarter than I. It was a very deflating experience."

"Being a big shot in high school spoiled me," admitted another freshman: "I didn't do very well here. I wasn't special and that was a big comedown." And similar voices: "I always knew that I would face greater competition once I got to college, but I thought I would still come out on top. I was wrong and I have trouble dealing with it. If I get a B- on a paper, I think that I will always be a B- student and a B- person. I know this is a fallacy, but I can't help feeling dragged down by my grades." Again, "I was used to being the outstanding female and now I'm in a school with a lot of outstanding women. This college makes me feel very insecure. I regressed."

Ironically, for some students from less educated family backgrounds, the very fact of admission to this prestigious college conveyed so exhilarating a sense of triumph that they were all the more vulnerable to initial setbacks. Among those disappointed with their academic performance, the intensity of the stress varied with two factors. The sense of failure was linked less to the objective level of accomplishment than to the gap between aspiration and results. One freshman who received B's in all her courses was so depressed to have fallen below her customary high school A record that she considered seeking therapy.

The degree of stress varied also with the salience of academic achievement for the self-esteem of the freshman. Some students reacted to academic disappointment by seeking alternative sources of self-respect.

Quite explicit on this score was a student who said: "It kills me to get a B- and when I do I turn to other things, like partying with guys." For others, such compensations were not available because intellectual prowess was more central to their self-esteem.

What were the responses to this damaged self-concept? Some initial reactions were clearly maladaptive in the sense that they resulted in a still deeper sense of failure. A freshman who entered college aspiring to be a writer tells her story:

> "I had the reputation as the best writer in my high school. My English teacher thought so and took a personal interest in my writing. So I was shocked when in my first college English course my professor wrote a note saying that I was intelligent but needed help with my writing. She offered to work with me. I was so let down by this note that I never bothered to go to see her. I didn't feel close to her and didn't want to discuss coldly something that was so important to me."

A similar cycle of disappointment, withdrawal, and still lower achievement is described by a freshman who was so "depressed" by poor grades at midterm that she "lost all motivation to study. I began to neglect my studies and, feeling guilty, I would nevertheless often go to a play or a party before an exam. This didn't help my grades."

Another insightful student described her angry reaction to the competition encountered in college:

> "I did absolutely nothing all year. I got by because of my superior high school background. I wrote the required papers but I put absolutely nothing into them. It was a ridiculous attitude. I know what it is to be motivated but this was my way of reacting to the competition. I figured I would show them that I can still pass my courses without studying."

Another reaction to disappointment in academic achievement was to

question the system of rewards, more specifically to stress the irrationality of grading which allegedly rewards and penalizes in fortuitous ways, reflecting neither student ability nor effort. "It's not that I don't study," explained an earnest student, "it's that I don't have the intuitive knack some people have of knowing what to give the teacher on exams." A peevish classification of students given by another disappointed freshman attests to a similar indictment of the irrationality of the grading system:

> "There are, of course, some students who cut classes and drift through four years of college, clinging by a hairline to minimal requirements. But I am immensely jealous of the fortunate people who do some work, without being workaholics, and do very well on exams, fooling their professors into thinking they are studying very hard. Finally come the most unfortunate souls: those who study hard and conscientiously and then come across as lazy and dumb because they don't have the knack to do well on tests. I guess I fit into the last category."

Insofar as the disappointed students appeared to displace the blame from self to others, the professors fared much better than fellow students. Only a handful of the interviewed students attributed their failure to a "batch of rotten teachers who oversaturate you with dry nuts and bolts, without conveying the deeper implications of their subjects."

Much more pervasive was the attribution of "cut-throat" competitiveness to classmates. We had not verified this characterization, but the recurrent and bitter accounts of competitiveness had, occasionally, the ring of a mythology fed by anxiety and rivalry.

The accepted norm at this college prohibited direct inquiries about grades as an infringement of privacy. Curiosity had to be satisfied by

a general question: "How did you do?" and an equally general response: "not so well" or "pretty good". Close friends, of course, exchanged fuller information.

This convention of confidentiality alleviated but did not eliminate the strain of competition. For one thing, the norm was sometimes violated. "They would boast about their grades," complained a student, "and ask you what you got on this test or that paper. You could tell that they were glad if they did better than you."

Moreover, competitiveness impinged upon students in other ways, for example, in the reluctance of a classmate to lend notes, in the difficulty of organizing study groups before exams. References to the ruthless competitiveness of premed students, fueled by anxiety over admission to medical schools, were a commonplace. So were stories, generally based on hearsay, detailing incidents of foul play and including also the male premeds of the coordinate college: buying term papers, destroying an experiment of a rival in the laboratory, making a deal with the Teaching Assistant, a female undergraduate offering sex to the assistant in exchange for a copy of a forthcoming exam.

However trustworthy these accounts, there is no mistaking the anxiety and rivalry they reflected.

This competitive atmosphere was praised by a few students, though the benefits attributed to it were not always in the service of the ideals of a liberal education. A student, proud of her insight, said:

> "I used to see academics as an end in themselves. But I suddenly realized that the greatest value of the college is in training you for the competitive world outside the classroom. College is just a microcosm of what it's like

> to be in any competitive situation. You feel good if you overcome the barriers, which is really what life is like."

We have so far discussed some maladaptive reactions to the initial blow to self-esteem which, if anything, undermined academic performance.

At the other pole from the defeatists were students who took steps to analyze and improve their performance and thereby recouped their self-esteem. Sometimes it was a matter of study habits, as exemplified by a freshman who was "shocked" to receive all C's on her midterms. She was depressed to let her parents down, all the more so because they were spending so much money to send her to an Ivy League school. She kept phoning her parents to apologize for her poor grades, but they urged her not to take the first grades so to heart.

This student decided to observe and talk to classmates about their study methods. She realized that she "screwed up" her studying by following her customary high school pattern of cramming for exams the night before. At home in Virginia everything was slow and laid back and she hadn't realized how fast-paced the college classes would be. She stopped reading novels and studied daily instead of waiting till the tests. She was delighted to end up with a B+ average for the first semester and her parents teased her: "See,we told you that you could do it." The women in her dorm were "high-speed" women who got their work done quickly and on time" and she tried to follow their example.

Another student who recouped her self-esteem not only by more work but by a deliberate decision to participate in class discussions, an action which, in turn, initiated a virtuous cycle of increasing self-

confidence. "I got really frightened at first. In high school I felt that most students were less intelligent than I." But in the first weeks of college, she was shocked to hear students talk intelligently in class about books she'd never even heard of. "This shook my self-confidence and I never volunteered in class." After the first set of exams, she decided to talk to a lot of students, people she didn't even know, about the test and as a result decided that, brilliant as some students were, if she worked hard she could measure up. Moreover, she understood the importance of discussing issues in class even if "one wasn't so completely certain of one's views."

Let us recapitulate the patterns of response to the initial disappointment in the level of academic achievement. We have described the maladaptive reaction of withdrawal and depletion of effort, whether or not accompanied by projection of blame upon the environment. Another group of students searched for causes of unsatisfactory performance and was able to mobilize resources to improve the record.

We shall conclude with the third type of response. These are students who made some peace with a changed self-image. Several elements were involved in this revaluation and adjustment, as illustrated in the following case.

A student with a straight A high school record was upset with her first set of college grades. "What's going on here?," she asked herself: "I am working as hard as I can and still I'm getting only B's." Some of her friends were doing better. She finally came to the conclusion that she was working to her full capacity and if she was getting B's then she

was a B student in college.

But this acceptance did not come automatically or easily. She took the trouble to seek out her college advisor to inquire how she rated among all the members of the freshman class. Her advisor was encouraging and she left reassured that she wasn't slipping behind the others.

Additional support was provided by her boyfriend who repeatedly assured her that to do one's best was all anyone should expect of oneself. When she explained to her parents how much more demanding college was in comparison with her notoriously easy parochial school, they understood that she wasn't fooling around. Indeed, they too kept assuring her that they were satisfied with a B record.

The foregoing section on academic performance dealt with the impact of the freshman year upon this limited aspect of self-concept and self-esteem. The section on "Culture Shock" will trace influences of the early encounter with college life upon other aspects of personality.

Culture Shock

The entering freshmen could not have escaped in the literature received from the college its proud claim to the exceptional diversity of its student body. Even when the cosmopolitan character of this college was one of its chief attractions for a student, she could not fully anticipate the impact of such diversity. In this section we shall illustrate only some initial jolts of the "culture shock," since coping with it is a continuing process. The interviews with the sophomores will enable us to trace this process in some detail in the forthcoming pages. We shall see that for some freshmen, the disorganizing impact was so great that even as sophomores they appeared adrift in a manner of a ship losing its rudder. At the other extreme were students who sought out like-minded classmates, closed ranks and, through this selective association, defended themselves against discrepant values. Another reaction was one of a more open but controlled responsiveness to cultural differences. These students claimed that they have, at the minimum, acquired a greater tolerance and, occasionally, testified to intellectual and emotional development.

Apart from these three patterns of response to culture shock, one recurrent reference to the ethos of this college may also represent a mode of coping with divergent values. The interviews sought out the student's perception of the characteristic values of this college in various domains. The initial general questions were followed by probes such as, for example: "Who, would you think, is more on the defensive on this campus, a virgin or woman who has had some sexual experience?"

As perceived by the students, the college did have a position on several elements of the value system (see pp.). But the few such

domains aside, a frequent response was that the college expects the individual to form and adhere to her own set of values. This cultural relativity and tolerance as ideals were emphasized even when in specific contexts there was no dearth of moral indignation at some particular values of classmates. The students, in affirming the spirit of tolerance, may have reflected the general ethos of our culture. Their emphasis, however, may have also resonated the psychological need to cope with culture shock: "I don't have to choose. It is all right to follow different moral scripts."

For some students, entrance to this college provided the first contact with members of other racial and ethnic groups in the shared status of a classmate. One Catholic freshman who attended a parochial high school in a small town explained that she "never had a conversation with a member of a different race (sic)". She was dazed all through the freshman orientation to meet "all those Asians, Blacks, Latins, Greeks, Jews, Koreans, etc., etc." She thought that was a "great experience". To be sure, her closest friends during the first semester were her own kind, that is a group of white Catholic girls. But whereas they "stuck together," she did "venture out". She had a Jewish male friend and some Protestant and Jewish girl acquaintances. Her parents did not allow her to date this Jewish guy and she did not -- a phone call was all right, but certainly not a movie or a dinner together.

However superficial, the contact with diverse groups was bound to increase the knowledge of cultural differences. "Last year, just before Christmas," reported a freshman, "I was telling a girl in one of my classes about my family's Christmas plans and asked her about her own

plans. The girl replied that she was an Orthodox Jew and, of course, her family didn't celebrate Christmas. "I was really surprised and embarrassed," our respondent concluded, "I was so used to a Catholic neighborhood that it never struck me that some people just weren't Christian."

We shall illustrate the disquieting confrontation with cultural diversity, first of all, with regard to sexual norms and behavior. The chapter on sexual relationships portrays the wide variety of types: virgins, freshmen who have already had a number of lovers, those involved in an exclusive affair, lesbians, women for whom the topic of sex was too sensitive for discussion and others who reported their sexual experiences in explicit detail. Obviously the exposure to such variety of both principles and behavior could not be without significance for the entering student. One freshman reported:

> "Freshman orientation was horrible. To top everything off my roommate slept with a different guy every night! One night she met someone at a beer party and that night she slept with him. At a party the next night, she met somebody else and slept with him. I guess girls who engage in casual sex imagine they are popular with men. But one of the guys my roommate slept with told me later that she was a 'slut', that he had little respect for her and would use her for what he could get."

A counterpart of this account of the promiscuous classmate is supplied in an interview with a freshman who had such a history. This was a young woman whose self-esteem in high school was derived largely from her sexual attractiveness in a "partying" clique with permissive, "recreational" sex with many partners. Early in her freshman year she was stunned by the contempt of her feminist roommates for a woman who is "a chick, just a sex object for the guy". This reappraisal of herself was all the more painful

because she found herself admiring these outspoken roommates, not afraid to voice their disagreement with the guys and, above all, unlike her high school friends, not deriving their self-esteem so exclusively from an indiscriminate popularity with men. We shall describe more fully the course of her development over the first year of college in Chapter .

Interestingly enough, the initial culture shock was more disturbing when some member of the student's own "in-group" departed from her personal moral code. Dissimilarity in an "out-group" was expected and therefore less disquieting.

An example of such an "in-group" difference was reported by a sheltered, only daughter of a devout Catholic family. She adhered to the ideal of premarital chastity. Of all the classmates she met in the first weeks of college, the most congenial was another Catholic student. They shared the same taste in clothes and a disdain for girls who came to class looking like slobs. They had similar academic interests. To convey the propriety of her new friend, our respondent summed up: "She was the kind of girl my mother would have liked if I brought her home."

The shock came when her new friend informed her that she was about to leave on a week's holiday with a man, many years her senior, who, as it turned out, was not her first lover. "But what do your parents say?"; our student was bewildered. "They wished me a good trip," was the response. Our respondent summed up: "If I left on such a vacation, I would have no home to return to." The friend came back from her holiday and resumed sexual relations with her 20-year-old lover.

This friendship did not endure: "We were just too far apart," explained our interviewee: "I could hardly impress her if I felt

overjoyed to be finally allowed to stay out till 1:30 a.m. on Saturday nights." All the same, she was somewhat amused at her mother's horror ("A heathen!") when she recounted at home her friend's adventures.

Such estrangement between students was not an inevitable consequence of differences in sexual experience. Another interviewed freshman, also a virgin, was "shocked" to learn that her roommate had been sexually active since she was 13, and had had many lovers. The most surprising thing was that "it didn't phase her somehow, it seemed so natural to her to get into bed with whomever she chose." This friend, so unlike our respondent, had been into speed and acid, and still smoked grass two or three times a week. The two students discussed how ironic it was that they could be so different and yet so close: "We could talk for hours in our room. There was a lot of good communication between us."

Several factors distinguish the two cases of virgins who met sexually experienced classmates and account for estrangement of the first and continued friendship of the second couple.

For the first student, virginity was a matter of a religious principle and the acceptance of a strong parental vigilance. Perhaps this docility was tolerable given her exceptional good looks and popularity with men, despite the limits she set on physical contact. She appeared to view herself as a desirable woman who will have sex and marriage whenever she is ready and meets the right man.

For the second student, more rebellious and intellectually involved, and more feminist, the contact with the new friend was a glimpse into a world that both shocked and intrigued her. She had little social life in high school, which she attributes in part to having been overweight.

She has no moral scruples about premarital sex. Her new sexually experienced friend may be regarded as someone who might facilitate her own development in this sphere. At the same time, her own self-esteem in this friendship is assured by her involvement with intellectual issues and with causes, interests which impress and find a responsive audience in her roommate.

Attitudes towards gender roles, apart from sexuality, also varied widely enough to generate debate and self-questioning. The very traditional girls who looked forward to full-time homemaking after the birth of children were in a small minority and soon felt on the defensive. The spectrum of views concerning gender roles was wide and most freshmen soon discovered differences to the right and to the left of their own position, and had to rethink or, at least to defend, their own views. "I wouldn't let a guy pay for a movie or a dinner. I believe that a liberated woman must pay her own way."; "I wouldn't think of going Dutch with a guy unless I wanted to let him know that there would be no romantic involvement."; "I hate the girls who mince and giggle and act dumb as soon as there are guys around."; "Some girls are so militant and hostile to men that they deserve to be called 'castrating bitches'." -- these are only samples of contrasting attitudes.

Another aspect of gender roles was also subject to conflicts. Some freshmen took it for granted that an opportunity for a date would take precedence over some prior social engagement with a girlfriend. But this attitude collided with the emerging norm of female loyalty and solidarity. Thus the neglected girlfriend may not only be inconvenienced, but feel indignant if joint plans were sacrificed to a call from a guy. This

indignation, in turn, generated guilt in students newly exposed to the imperative of female solidarity.

Silver Cords

There is hardly a chapter of this book that does not make some reference to the family of the student, either as the "cradle of personality," a reinforcer of college impacts, or, conversely, a source of cross pressure vis-a-vis the college. This section is limited to the single problem, that of separation from the family experienced at the beginning of the freshman year by more-or-less dependent daughters.

Clearly, entering college has different implications for students who commute as against residents with families living at a distance from college. For girls who had attended boarding schools, college did not constitute so drastic a change. Finally, the impact of the separation from home varies with the characteristics of parent-child and sibling relationships. Some resident students experienced a sense of liberation with very little nostalgia for the family nest. "My mother is a very controlling person," said one student: "She used to call my high school teachers constantly to check up on my performance. Now I can set my own limits and enjoy skipping a meal, leaving my room messy, not having to account for my time -- and not feeling guilty about any of it."

The relationships of some students with their parents were so strained that the warfare continued unabated upon entrance to college. In one such case the ostensible conflict was over the daughter's affair with a young man of different religion and a lower status. This student confessed: "I harbor a lot of resentment towards my parents for all the hassle they

give us." Were it not for the subterfuges and outright lies on her part, ties with the family in her opinion would have been severed completely.

The more prevalent issue, however, was the struggle for some emancipation from the family. We have referred in the opening of this chapter to the expressed conviction that college must serve as a training ground for adulthood, in general, and for independence from parents, in particular.

This imperative is illustrated indirectly in the mockery of a commuter by a student residing in the college dorm:

> "Girls who live at home just cannot stand on their own. During the strike one commuter asked me if she could stay with me for a few days. I agreed, but after a couple of days she said, 'Gee, I really miss my home. I miss home-cooked food and a nice warm bed and people around me whom I'm familiar with.' I thought that was a very childish attitude."

Equally criticized was another freshman who allowed her mother to come and clean up her dorm room and make sure she had an electric pencil sharpener and similar "necessities". "This girl just accepts this as natural and doesn't try to break away from her mother at all" was the disapproval expressed by a classmate.

Of the freshmen who made a conscious effort to attain more independence from their parents, some were successful and others confessed failure. We shall illustrate both the partial success and the failure. Whatever the outcome, both reveal how deeply they have internalized the imperative to cut the "silver cords".

The first respondent described an occasion when she felt very upset about a low grade on an exam. Her first impulse was to phone her parents for comfort. But she resisted the temptation. She was trying to establish her independence and felt that if she phoned "to complain about

every little trouble" her parents would hardly view her as an adult. So she didn't call them at all. Not having heard from her, her parents got worried and phoned to ask what was the matter. Then she poured out the whole story and called them again the next night because she wasn't feeling any better. She said that her parents attempted to comfort her by saying, "Do the very best that you can," but because they hadn't been in college in such a long time they didn't really understand what it was she was going through. She got especially upset when her mother said: "Well, you always used to get real nervous before a test." She felt indignant because she was having serious difficulties with a course, not some childish pre-exam jitters, but her mother was trying to comfort her as a child, not as an adult with a major problem.

This student was aware that she used her boyfriend to achieve her independence from her parents, but had the insight, perhaps contributed by him, that she, in effect, was simply transferring her dependence from parents to the boyfriend.

She sought comfort from him when she first had difficulties with the course. She phoned him to explain that she needed someone to take care of her in this stressful situation. He was, in fact, comforting for a short time but explained to her that she should learn to stand on her own two feet and make her own decisions.

The second is a case of a student, especially close to her mother, who complained, in the journal she kept for us, about discontinuities in the upbringing of daughters:

> "It seems that I have always been encouraged by everyone to be close to my parents, especially to my mother. Now that I've left home and gone to college, there is suddenly this great emphasis on being independent and self-sufficient. I feel a great conflict in this area. I am supposed to 'wean' myself but, though I am incredibly close to my friends, I feel much closer to my mother. I called her when I lost my virginity, when I thought I was pregnant, and I generally tell her about all the things that happen with my boyfriend. If I am lonely I call her, as I do when I get a good grade. I get a very strong and clear support from her. It is she who usually says: 'I'll let you go now,' or 'I'm sure you have things to do,' and I always go: 'No, Ma, I want to talk to you some more.' Sometimes her words translate to me: 'Maybe I shouldn't talk to my mother so much, none of my friends do. In college you are supposed to grow up and grow away.' I feel kind of embarrassed. But I can't imagine what it would be like not to be in close touch with her. I know that one day she won't be around for me to talk to; but even the thought of that fills me with dread and fear of loneliness."

So far this student has not succeeded in attaining what she accepts as the cultural goal of "weaning" herself from her mother. The only form this effort takes is "pulling back" temporarily after repeated calls home, or being "sort of snippy on the phone". Her mother understands and never "crowds her".

The process of emancipation did not always involve as conscious an effort as in the foregoing cases. Some freshmen, having turned to their parents for customary solace, were disappointed. As one freshman put it: "They (her parents) cannot say the right thing when I phone and complain because they don't know what college is like." This dissatisfaction is voiced whether parents attempt to offer some advice or seek to reassure. A freshman tells the interviewer:

> "During mid-terms I called my mom because I was feeling so tense and upset about my exams. My mother asked me if I had organized the work in such a way that I could get everything done. That really frustrated me. I didn't call for her to tell me to organize my work. I know how to organize my work. My mom doesn't really understand what college is like because she doesn't know all of the circumstances that surround my life at college."

And another "frustrated" daughter:

> "My mother is a very understanding person but when I call her she just gives me sympathy and not empathy. I'd rather that she try and understand deep down what I'm telling her rather than tell my kind of surface things, things that I already know and don't need somebody to tell me."

She concluded:

> "I guess it's unrealistic to expect that much because she's not living at college and cannot know what college life is like."

Thus, willy nilly, the student turns away from her parents to her peers who understand what it is to be scared of a professor, to live with a roommate whose grades are better, to try to decide which of the five courses to study for, and the like.

The process of separation from parents when it does take place is not continuous and is fraught with ambivalence for the daughters on whose testimony this section is based. This ambivalence, the pull and push of conflicting sentiments, is reflected in excerpts from the student journals:

> "Yesterday, I spoke to my father on the phone. After hanging up, I was very upset, because I was left with the feeling that my father doesn't like me anymore. I called back to speak to my mother and discuss this with her. Interestingly enough, she said that he thought I didn't like him anymore. He said, 'I know she loves me, but for some reason, she doesn't like me.' Needless to say, this upset me a great deal.

> According to my mother, my lack of physical affection indicates to my father that I don't like him. In response to this, he is cold to me.
>
> It is very hard for me to be like the affectionate young girl I used to be. In fact, it is impossible. That is no longer the person that I am. It is very hard to explain this to him, because I am his last child to grow up. He is involved with as many personal conflicts as I am. He wants me to mature and be able to take care of myself, but he doesn't want to lose his little girl.
>
> I want to grow up, but in times of uncertainty I still cling to them for support. None of these things is bad, they just lead to an ambiguous situation that is not easily dealt with."

Another freshman chose a major and was especially satisfied because the choice was her own: "Most of my life I either didn't make a decision or my parents made it for me." Her ambivalent sentiments, however, were revealed in a reported incident. When she raised her grade in physics from a C- to a B, she phoned her father long distance. "He said, 'Oh, I knew you could do it,' but he didn't seem that impressed and I was a little disappointed. What the hell! I really don't care; there comes a point when his reaction shouldn't make a difference."

In conclusion, there is no mistaking the shared expectation of the freshmen that the transition to college should mark some degree of emancipation from parental control and the need for their emotional support. The struggle for independence is not continuous and is fraught with ambivalence for the daughter, whatever part the parents play to further or retard the process. Finally, both female and male peers played a significant role in the weakening of familial control. They exerted an influence through withholding or giving approval and, occasionally, through what the daughters

perceived as superior awareness of problems inherent in college life. The role of peers in weakening the socializing influence of the family confirms a familiar thesis, here illustrated anew for a particular age and educational group.

Afterword

To say that students on the threshold of college expected it to serve as a step towards adulthood is not to imply that they were prepared for the specific demands this involved. We have reviewed some problems of the first months of college and offered some hypotheses for differential responses to these challenges.

In conclusion, we shall note one general factor which some students themselves identified as crucial to a satisfactory adjustment to college. In the words of one student:

> "At first I was disappointed by college. It wasn't really offering me that much. The I met some undergrad leaders and, observing them, I realized that here one's got to go actively after the things one wants rather than wait for them to fall into your lap. The college could do more in providing information, but I realized that I was expecting to have it fed to me. Perhaps I was too accustomed to being told three times a day to do something before I acted."

This student was testifying to a basic difference between this urban college, on the one hand, and, on the other, the only two institutions with which she was already familiar, that is, the family and the school. Instead of the close supervision, nagging, and direction of parents and teachers, she found herself in an institution in which, a few periodic checks aside, "No one seems to care." Professors appear distant and intimidating. Most interviewed students felt that they had to have a good reason to impose upon their professors' time, even when a professor was

known to keep office hours faithfully. In short, the habitual, somewhat passive, responsiveness to orders from adults was no longer adaptive.

A few dependent students developed techniques of manipulating the initially "impersonal" organization so as to obtain the warm reassurance, frequent help, and personal attention they desired. Equally dependent students who lacked such skills felt maladjusted. By contrast, entering students with already aroused intellectual motivation and a degree of independence, purposefully utilized the available resources almost from the outset. Their active participation aroused interest in them on the part of their professors, setting up a rewarding cycle.

This chapter, with its emphasis upon problems of transition to college, made little reference to those students who almost from the outset found college congenial, stimulating, and liberating. Among them were girls who felt themselves somewhat deviant in their high schools, because of their strong intellectual interests, feminist values, perhaps, also, a less than satisfactory social life with male fellow students. Arriving at a college which affirmed all their values and rewarded them for qualities penalized by their high school peers proved particularly exhilarating, enhancing their self-esteem and motivation.

Chapter 3

College Women's Socialization for Occupational Choices:

The Freshman Year

Outline

Introduction

Trajectories of Decision-making, 1979-1980

- Defectors -- from "certain" occupational choices to uncertainty in 1980
- Steadfast -- reaffirm the "certain" occupational goals in 1980
- Undecided -- equally "uncertain" in 1980 as in 1979
- Converts -- from "certain" 1979 goals to new but equally "certain" goals in 1980
- Discoverers -- from uncertainty or consideration of several occupational goals in 1979 -- towards some crystallization or, occasionally, even complete certainty of goals in 1980

Conclusion

College Women's Socialization for Occupational Choices: The Freshman Year

Introduction

That occupational decision making during the first year of college should warrant a chapter in a book on women undergraduates is in itself a sign of significant social change. This is not to imply that occupational choices are firmly made at the average age of 19. Quite the contrary, the great majority feel quite uncertain or oscillate among various plans. The noteworthy fact is the emergence of an urgent concern about work.

The evidence of a change in attitudes towards work comes from this current replication of research done in 1943 on the campus which is the site of this study. Full results of the 1943 study are presented on pp. . Some 80 percent of the 1943 sample, though planning to work after graduation, whatever their economic circumstances, intended to stop with marriage or with the birth of the first child. Only 10 percent were determined career women, opting for a life-long career with as brief an interruption for childbearing as feasible. The high increase in career aspirations of the 1979-1980 students is reported in Chapter 3.

As significant as the rise in career aspirations are the changes in the values underlying these preferences, as gleaned from the interviews. In 1943, benefits that the students expected to derive from the experience of paid work were general, that is, nearly independent of the nature of the job. This experience, per se, was perceived to produce long-range benefits in developing self-discipline, self-reliance, and in providing insight into the world of one's future husband as the family provider. Work, as insurance against some possible economic crisis, was also considered in this light, less by virtue of some acquired technical or professional skill than as a

residue of discipline and self-reliance permanently accruing from having worked for pay. Occasionally other values were expressed, e.g. "noblesse oblige," the obligation to repay for the privilege of higher education by some social contribution prior to assumption of family responsibilities.

A different image of the good life was projected in 1980. It appears that, whatever their preferred future life styles, finding one's place in the world of work is becoming for these young women, as it has been for their brothers, the very touchstone of personal dignity and autonomy. Even relatively traditional students who were prepared to withdraw from work in order to raise a family agonized over the choice of a future occupation.

Occupation has entered as a significant component of one's self-image. This became apparent, also, in the opposition, in 1980, to an early marriage (see pp. for findings). The most frequent refrain in the interviews was: "I want first to establish myself in my occupation, to define my own individuality. I don't want to be dependent on anyone until I've had enough time to prove that I can make it on my own." Students in 1980 expressed quite explicitly the need to bring maturity and individuality to the marriage relationship. Excerpts from the interviews illustrate (see pp.) that at least some students were consciously striving not to fall into the trap of transferring their dependence from parents to boyfriends, without ever becoming autonomous. In 1943, students appeared to share the conventional wisdom that marital status, per se, bestows maturity and, in fact, a degree of psychological formlessness may facilitate adjustments required in this relationship.

1979-1980

In the fall of 1979, a random sample of freshmen entering an eastern women's college filled out a questionnaire concerning possible occupational

choices. The methodology of this first wave of a longitudinal study is described in earlier reports. The sample (n = 232) represented a response rate of 96 percent.

The questionnaire on occupations (one of a large set of questionnaires and tests administered to the incoming freshmen) elicited specified occupational intentions as well as the degrees of felt certainty. A copy of the questionnaire is reproduced in the Appendix. As summarized in Table 1, the five response options ranged from complete uncertainty ("have no definite occupational plans at present") to, at the other extreme, "I am fairly certain I shall enter the following occupation (specify)."

An identical questionnaire was administered to the sample one year later, in the fall of 1980.

What has happened to occupational plans during the first year of college? The picture is one of both stability and some changes.

As to the degrees of certainty, for a considerable proportion of students, the freshman year did not entail any change. Table 1 presents the results of this comparison and confirms the significant association between the students' responses in 1979 and 1980

(chi square = 69.435; significance = 000). We see that of students "fairly certain" of their occupational goals in 1979, 68 per cent expressed equal certainty in 1980. At the other extreme, 51per cent of the "uncertains" in 1979 were equally at sea in 1980. In between the two extremes were freshmen who in 1979 were considering two or three possible future occupations. Of these, 48 per cent were equally waivering in the Fall of 1980.

So much for trends in the degrees of certainty with which occupational choices were expressed after one year of college. But our data include also the specific occupations listed at both periods. Combining both sets of information, the degree of certainty and the specific occupations, yielded a classification of trajectories of occupational decision-making into five types. "Defectors" are students who upon entrance to college specified a "fairly certain" occupational goal (or, at most, a consideration of two possible occupations) but in 1980 discarded their early choices and became totally "uncertain." The "steadfast" students reaffirmed in Fall of 1980 the specific occupational plans they felt certain to pursue in 1979. "Undecided" students did not change in the course of the year, remaining equally uncertain in 1980. "Converts" abandoned occupations they felt certain to pursue in favor of equally certain new choices. Finally, the "discoverers" comprise all students who share one feature, i.e., the year has brought them closer to an occupational goal. They moved from complete (or relative uncertainty) toward a narrowing of options and, occasionally, toward one definite intention.

This typology is, thus, based upon two dimensions: the outcome of occupational decision-making (identical or different at both periods) and on degree of felt certainty of the choice. We shall proceed by discerning the salient characteristics of each type, first by illustrative case studies, followed by an interpretative summary of each type.

Hypotheses presented in these summaries remain to be tested. In view of the likely shifts in students' plans in the course of the sophomore and junior years, an elaborate quantitative analysis of the correlates and determinants of occupational choices, based on only the two periods (Fall 1979 and Fall 1980) would be inconclusive and wasteful. We propose, therefore, to await the data to be collected at Time 3, Spring of 1982, when all members of the panel will have chosen their majors and completed one semester in the major, before submitting our hypotheses to systematic quantitative analysis. The hypotheses which have emerged amply testify to the complexities of processes of occupational choice.

Table 1

Degrees of Certainty of Occupational Plans 1979-1980

1979	1980					
	1	2	3	4	5	Totals
1. Uncertain, too early to know	28.6	42.9	14.3	14.2	0	14
2. Uncertain, I wish I knew	9.1	33.3	33.3	12.1	12.1	33
3. Considering 3 occupations	17.9	12.5	26.8	25.0	17.9	56
4. Considering 2 occupations	11.6	14	20.9	20.9	32.6	43
5. I am fairly certain to enter this occupation	0	6.8	2.3	22.7	68.2	44

Chi square = 69.435

Significance = 000

Defectors: Case Studies and Conclusions

Defector, Case 1 (007)

In the Fall of 1979, A. was not only certain about her occupational goal, but the goal in question was innovative for women, sports reporting in the press or on radio and T.V. She scored "high" on career salience. This appeared to stem from both positive and negative motivations: first, a strong interest in sports, dating back to elementary school. She has vivid memories of watching football with her father and discussing the games. She had subscribed in high school to sports magazines. The second element in career salience is her lack of interest in marriage and children. Perhaps, she ventured, family life is too far in the future to seem real to her.

The defection from the original choice exhibits several processes. A. perceived some repellent attributes of sports journalism, not hitherto apparent to her. She suffered, what was for her, a crushing defeat in her first move toward her occupational goal.

The repellent feature of sports journalism was the extreme competitiveness of the field. The few women sports journalists she watched on T.V. turned out to be negative role models: "They seemed so very high strung, very driving, and motivated." She said: "I don't have that kind of personality."

Perhaps the impact of these observations would not have been so drastic had A. not suffered a defeat. She wrote an article on sports for the college paper which was read by her much-admired older sister who made some critical comments about her writing style. At the same time, she was disappointed in her grades in the college

English course. The English professor took the initiative in calling the student in for a conference, expressing her view that A. "had potential but did not work hard enough" and offering her guidance.

A.'s major criticism of the college, in general, was its "competitive atmosphere." Her sensitivity to criticism created a vicious cycle. She did not pursue contacts with the sympathetic English professor and did not take advantage of the resources the college provides. Her passivity extended beyond the fear of competition and of failure. A. did not attend any of the conferences sponsored by Career Services and did not seek out college academic advisors or career counselors.

The major problem immobilizing the student is a conflict between two tendencies. One the one hand, the college-educated parents, the much-admired older sister, and the other siblings have high professional expectations for A. which she has internalized. Not surprisingly, her total uncertainty about future goals generated great anxiety, all the greater because marriage and expecially children seem too remote and, hence, not an escape from the need to make a decision.

The difficulty arises from an equally great fear of failure. How else to account for her fantasies of escape: "Sometimes I think I'd just like to get a non-competitive, low level job, like a gym teacher." But she immediately recognizes that such a job will not allow her "to exercise the intellectual side of myself." The dawning recognition that any occupation which would satisfy her internalized values and high aspirations would require the dreaded "competition"

appears to result in both passivity and anxiety.

Summary

The defection from the occupational goal cherished early in high school entailed a double discovery: the tenacity, drive, and competitiveness demanded by the occupation, and, secondly, the lack of instant success in trial college journalism and in the English composition course. Defining her problem as a distaste for cut-throat competition, the student demonstrates a high sensitivity to criticism and, perhaps, a fear of failure.

The agents of socialization, persons who unwittingly immobilized the student, were an admired older sister, a female English professor, the more motivated college peers who were "too competitive," and the few women sports announcers on T.V. who projected an uncongenial aura of drive and ambition.

A.'s anxious passivity stems from a conflict between high professional aspirations, fostered by her family and internalized by her, and her fear of competition and failure.

Defector, Case 2 (162)

B. is a black student. Her mother has an M.A. in education (and has just entered law school at the age of 44) and her self-employed father has less than 12 years of schooling.

B. entered college as a firm pre-med student. Parental, and especially her father's attitude is more than supportive. All of her 3 siblings intend to become medical doctors. All through high school their father preached the importance of medicine, or perhaps law, as a profession for B. that would, not only ensure economic security, but provide position of power and prestige for a black woman in a white community. His constant pressure for good grades and his prohibition of dating (which B. secretly evaded) stemmed also from his religious attitude.

B. was fascinated by high school biology and received high grades in sciences.

Having entered college with high expectations for herself ("I think a person can do whatever they really want to do") B. suffered a defeat in her pre-med courses, having to drop chemistry with grades so mediocre in other sciences as to rule out medicine.

B. did not appear crushed by her inability to pursue a medical career. She attributed her failure to the "hassle of commuting," the lack of sympathy on the part of white male English professors for the themes of her writing, upon rumors that graduate schools are playing games with admission policies as applied to blacks. Attributing her set-back to external forces, B. did not bank the flame of her ambition to "be somebody" and advance the status of blacks. She remains hopeful that she will do better in other courses which will prepare

her, if not for the no longer feasible career of medicine, then for some other high-status occupation.

Summary of Case 2

The decisive factor in abandoning the early choice to enter medicine was the student's failure in pre-med courses. She either denies the extent of her worry about the future (since she shares her parents' ambitions for her upward mobility) or, in part, displaces her disappointment, blaming her failure upon discrimination against the blacks and their concerns ~~of minorities~~. She apparently has not given up her ambition to enter another high status occupation, the precise choice remaining to be made.

Defector, Case 3 (068)

C. is an only daughter of white, Protestant professional parents, with father, a college professor, and a grandfather serving on the faculty of a prestigious university. In 1979, her occupational choice was "foreign service or business." In 1980 she was 'quite uncertain."

Why has C. discarded her early intentions? Her present uncertainty is in reality only a more honest recognition of the attitudes held in 1979.

Although the relationship with her father is described as "somewhat tense," his academic career and intellectually stimulating childhood environment had an impact. Her beloved mother as well as her father expect her to have a "brilliant, glamorous" career and she doesn't want to "burst their bubble." Her father urged a career in business as more lucrative than an academic career. Her mother thought "foreign service" would be glamorous.

During the past year she realized that she never did want to work in a large, impersonal business organization with no possible impact upon society. Her relatives in foreign service were in no position to gain for her a chance of an influential job. Moreover, she finds American foreign policy morally reprehensible. She wouldn't want to represent American oil or other special interests abroad.

Having gone to an excellent private boarding school, she found the college less intellectually demanding than she had expected. Nevertheless, 3 history courses (the subject she excelled in earlier) were sufficiently exciting to suggest history as a possible major,

though not being interested in an academic career she wonders about occupational prospects of such a major.

C. has elevated her uncertainty about the future into a philosophy of life, by joining a small "punk" sub-culture at college. The external badge of membership is special ("creative") dress, cropped or died hair. C. takes pride in "being noticed" and in having the self-confidence to "pull it off," to "make a statement" about herself. The punk culture entails living in the present through partying, dance, and considerable drug use. "Career is not important," C. remarked: "I don't see the point of scrambling up the corporate ladder. We are all going to die anyway and the society is corrupt to the core." The only reality is the present.

The strong support of this small group does not solve all C.'s problems. Here are some indirect manifestations of conflicts with the "straight" (C.'s expression) society that plague her:

1. C. was keenly disappointed over her rejection by two more prestigious colleges and would feel that she had "let her family down" were she not admitted to one of the more prestigious graduate schools. For all the philosophy of living in the present the pressure to earn high grades is exerted by this aspiration concerning graduate or professional school.

2. For all the expressed contempt for the "straight" competitive, ambitious classmates, she is anxiously comparing her grades with those received by classmates.

3. She is "terrified of loneliness" and hopes for an ideal marriage and motherhood. She hopes to bring up her children to be independent and not to have to protect their parents the way she has

to pretend with her beloved and close mother and her father, for fear that the truth about her attitudes and behavior would alarm them.

4. Her fantasies about work reflect irreconcilable wishes. She wouldn't want to work steadily, it is hopeless to change the corrupt system from within. Ideally she would like to retire to a farm and write significant philosophical and historical tracts, similar to works of her professor-grandfather, whom she admires more than anyone alive.

5. C. is ambivalent about the women's movement with its angry, complaining, powerless spokeswomen on T.V. Yet "lousy experiences" with a succession of lovers who wanted only sex and no intellectual companionship increased her awareness of male chauvinism.

6. C. describes herself as basically shy, involved with few close friends. She sees herself as vulnerable inside and tough and remote outside — "My clothing is part of the outward front," she said, "that protects me from being too vulnerable."

7. Finally, vague fantasies about future life-styles, e.g., working and not working, husband also in and out of work, depending on ages of children, or in rotating jobs, all appear in a person of her intelligence, to reflect an unwillingness to face conflicts.

Summary of Case 3

C. performed reasonably well in her freshman year and hence, apart from her previous rejection by two more prestigious colleges, she did not suffer a loss of self-confidence that caused other defectors to abandon earlier occupational choices.

Defector, Case 4 (222)

D. is the daughter of Chinese parents. Her father is a chef in a Chinese restaurant, the only one of 4 siblings to attend college. An elder sister dropped out of college. Parents brag about her being in college, hope for a good profession but also want grandchildren and want all daughters to marry early.

In 1979, D. put down psychology and drafting as possible occupations. In 1980 she was uncertain.

The early choices were made fairly casually. D. explained: "I was full of all these grand aspirations. I could do anything I wanted." Psychology as a profession occurred to her as she was reading her sister's text book and she did not even search through the college catalogue to see whether courses in drafting were listed.

She decided against psychology, having received a C+ in the course. Computer science as a major was suggested by an employer for whom she had worked part-time; that idea was discarded because she found the first course in computer science too difficult.

D. received an A in freshman English. Her male English professor was very encouraging about her writing. "You shouldn't waste your ability by majoring in psychology. "Deep down" she has always wanted to become a novelist but she realizes that she cannot bank on writing as a practical job decision.

D. has no intention to go on to graduate school and, therefore, tests every course as a possible clue to a major and occupation, but so far nothing has clicked. She does not seek the advice of professors, advisors, or career counsellors; the only discussions of

these matters are with other Chinese classmates, most of whom are more interested in careers than she is.

Although in Fall of 1979 D. listed psychology and drafting as desired occupations, it is clear that these were not considered decisions. "Sometimes I wonder," she mused," what would happen if I left college. I hate the pressure of cramming for exams. Then I think what a disappointment I'd be to my parents, especially to my father and I know I can't do it."

D. describes herself as "basically an old-fashioned person, shy with men but looking forward to family life." Her college friends seem more sure of themselves. They have matured over the year and, unlike her, they have a career goal. "This bothers me," she concluded.

Summary of Case 4

D. defected from choices which were not given serious thought in the first place. The low grade in psychology quickly eliminated this field. Computer science was equally difficult. English attracts her but is not a practical major.

D. has no interest in a long range working plan. Even attendance at college is questioned. She would drop out were it not for fear of disappointing her family.

D. is a commuter, attached to her family which continues to exert a strong influence and provide emotional support. The college is disturbing her by forcing comparison with her career salient Chinese friends who are goal-directed and ready to invest energy in achieving their goals. She finds little support for her "old fashioned" dreams of marriage and motherhood and her unhappiness with college work.

Conclusions: The Defectors

The defectors were students who in 1979 checked answers 5 or 4 on the Future Occupation questionnaire ("I am fairly certain that I shall enter the following occupation_____" or "I shall probably choose one of the following two occupations_____ _____") only to become completely uncertain by Fall of 1980.

The defectors abandoned their original occupational goals because they suffered a sense of failure in courses essential to future goals. This sense of failure ranged from a moderate loss of self-esteem to so crushing a change in self-concept as to cause depression and a strong desire to withdraw from college altogether.

The emphasis on the subjective disappointment with their performance in the chosen field is placed advisedly. The grades received in these courses or the grade average did not always correlate with the subjective reaction. The crucial factor in the loss of self-esteem and self-confidence is the gap between initial expectations and the level of actual attainment. Moreover, some students appeared especially vulnerable to any criticism of their performance.

The defectors had to cope not merely with their own loss of self-confidence but with the feeling that they have disappointed their parents. These parents set their hearts on a particular occupation for their daughter, or on a course of upward mobility. The relationship with both, or at least the one "significant" parent, was such that the daughter felt deeply the press of parental ambitions. In one case, a dutiful Chinese student, the pride of her parents as the only one of four siblings to attend college, admitted that the

original avowal of career commitment was wholly a gesture of filial loyalty. By the Fall of 1930 she no longer masked in the interview her lack of professional or, indeed, academic interests.

Another element in the process of defection was the characteristic reaction of this group of students to the initial setback. The reaction was one of passivity and withdrawal. They were too immobilized to take advantage of the assistance either actually proffered by their professors or available for the asking in administrative offices, including that of career counselors. Whether this passive withdrawal is a temporary reaction remains to be traced in future interviews.

In anticipating the analysis of the "steadfast" types, we shall note that this withdrawal of the defectors is not an inevitable reaction to the sense of failure in the chosen field. Among the steadfast, some students, equally disappointed with their initial grades, mobilized their resources and redoubled their efforts.

The great majority of the defectors did not abandon their original goals "voluntarily," that is, they did poorly in the chosen field and felt they weren't capable enough to succeed in it. Occasionally, the decisive factor was not so much disappointment with self as a more realistic view of the intended occupation and a new perception of some of its repelling or uncongenial attributes.

Steadfast: Case Studies and Conclusions

Steadfast, Case 1 (031)

A. was certain in 1979 and in 1980 that she will major in economics, and, if admitted, go on to the Harvard Business School, with the firm intention to pursue a lucrative and successful career in business or banking.

She is deeply attached to the memory of her beloved father who died when she was 10 years old. His life is a model she would like to follow. He was totally absorbed in his work as a businessman, loved it, and had exciting things to tell the family in the evenings. She remembers the thrill of being taken by him to Wall Street on one occasion. "A career is very important for self-respect," A. said, explaining why she would like to follow in his footsteps. She feels she has the ingredients for success. For one thing, she is fascinated by economics, she wants to make a lot of money and never to have to depend upon a man (so as not to be as helpless and devastated as was her suddenly widowed mother). Having had nothing but A's in high school, she felt confident that, with application, she can make it big in business.

Another inspiration for career commitment came from her wealthy, foreign-born paternal grandmother who, having married when very young, always preached to A. the importance of delaying marriage in the interest of establishing oneself in a secure and successful career. It is in line with her grandmother's views that A. remarked: "I might like to get married before I'm 30. It all depends on how my career is going at the time. My career is the most important thing to me."

These elements would appear to suffice in accounting for the "steadfast" case. However, A. has had some experiences in her freshman

year which, in other cases, resulted in rejection of original occupational plans.

Although, on her own testimony, she worked twice as hard in college as she had in high school, she didn't get even a single A. It bothered her no end. "I was having trouble adjusting to the idea that I was just an average student in college; I had never been 'average' in my life." (A. received B's in all her college courses.) A. is depressed by the superior grades of some of her friends. Her own academic record is known only to her mother. A. becomes extremely nervous before tests, stays up all night studying, and generally works herself to a "fever pitch."

Why has this blow to her self-esteem not turned her, as it has some others, into a "defector"?

The countervailing forces that kept her "steadfast" include, first of all, her apparently genuine interest in economics. A course in international banking was so exciting that she "sat at the edge of my seat." Though the professor in another economics course was "dry and boring," this made her all the more determined to learn the material on her own. She resents the liberal arts college requirements because they take her away from her real interests.

Another source of support comes from her mother. She recognizes her excessive dependence upon her mother but, though a resident in a college dorm, she frequently returns home for weekends. Not that this relationship is free of conflict. Her mother urges her to switch from a business career to law and constantly urges her to begin dating. A. resists both pressures, realizes that eventually she must learn to stand

on her own two feet. In the meantime, her mother's continued reassurance and unshaken faith in A's abilities is a source of great comfort.

Whereas some students buckled under the sense of academic failure and became "defectors," A., with the support of her mother, mobilized her resources and sought therapy to handle her disappointment and anxiety. She entered therapy in her freshman year and has continued at the time of the sophomore interview.

A. had never dated in high school. (The interviewer described her as "very attractive.") A. recognizes that she feels "a lot of aggressive hostility towards men; I am never at ease when I'm with a man." She characterized herself as an "iceberg when it comes to men and sexual attraction." Perhaps she would like an older man. "As a matter of fact," she comments, "I'd like to meet someone who is very much as I remember my father being." She explains her lack of social involvement in part as a matter of priorities -- academic work must now come first. Her best friends are also academically oriented. Despite her own lack of dating she thinks the radical lesbians at college carry segregation of sexes to an unnatural extreme. "I am not a lesbian," she remarks, "so that I can't go along with their thinking. Sometimes lesbian groups try to impose their views on others in a very pushy way that I find offensive."

Whatever problem A.'s total lack of friendly interaction with men occasions for her, this very lack may serve to reinforce her determination to improve her academic record. Put in other words, the alternative channels which were available to some "defectors" as a response to disappointment in academic performance generate even more

anxiety for A. This fact, then, may serve as another stimulus to stay with her original occupational goals.

Summary

A. suffered a serious anxiety-producing disappointment in an area so central to her self-esteem, i.e., academic performance. Why, then, has she not waivered in her occupational choice?

The explanation appears to lie in her strong career commitment and a genuine interest in her major field. With the support of her mother, she mobilized her resources to deal with her anxiety by entering psychological therapy. Whereas some other "defected" students found distraction in relationships with men, A.'s serious problems in intersexual interaction served to cut off this non-academic compensatory gratification and keep her on the original course.

Steadfast, Case 2 (105)

B. is a daughter of a businessman father who was a graduate of a university school of business and a mother -- full-time homemaker with a high school education. Parents are Catholic. Mother regrets not having gone to college and not having an occupation to fall back upon now that the children are grown up. B. volunteered that her mother was a housewife but "capable of much more."

Medicine was the occupation checked as a certain goal in both 1979 and 1980.

B. took biology in 7th grade, loved it, did well in it and was continually encouraged by a male high school teacher who told her that she had a great potential in science. She thought of medicine as a career. Minor surgery and her stay in the hospital increased her desire to be a physician.

Both parents encourage her in career aspirations; a somewhat traditional father, we surmise, because neither of her younger brothers has done as well as she in high school and one brother refused to go to college.

B. wants marriage and children, but only after she is through with medical school. She has no burning desire to have children but, when she does, she will stay home or work part-time while they are too young to go to a nursery school. She certainly does not want to be a housewife like her mother, despite the "somewhat close and intimate" relationship with the latter.

The freshman year reinforced her determination to be a doctor in certain ways and raised some anxieties in others.

Of the positive influences, her own good academic record would be a source of some encouragement, were it not for the anxiety-generating rumors that admission to medical school requires all A's. She got high grades in chemistry and calculus and admired greatly and was encouraged by her female professor of chemistry, who, not incidentally, was married and had children. B. worried about the problem of "doing it all," and derived, she admitted, some encouragement from the examples of such a life set by this chemistry professor and her own woman physician -- "It was good for me to see it," she said, "because I see it can be done."

Another factor in her greater determination to work was, paradoxically, the old-fashioned attitude of the West Point boy-friend whom she dated for several months. He was so unsupportive of her aspirations, so resentful when her academic work interfered with his dating plans, so sure that he'd want his own wife to stay home -- that after one incident (and despite his attractiveness in many ways) she broke up with him: "That's when I had the feeling, forget it, I'm never going to get married. I can't deal with this."

A similar indignant reinforcement came from two male professors who, in classes with predominantly male students, with their sexist jokes, expressed an irritatingly condescending attitude towards female students.

The main misgivings about medicine as a career stem from the nagging question: "Can I make it?" She has worked too hard and her general weariness is prompting her to seek a medical diagnosis. The pre-med competition for A's is getting her down.

A summer job in a hospital reinforced her interest in medicine and gave her a more realistic picture of both support and discrimination that she might encounter.

Just as the chauvinist opposition to her interest in medicine paradoxically strengthens her determination, so the feminist message from the college president's orientation speech raises doubts. The ideal of the enormously busy woman, who does everything, frightens her: "I get too tired."

A certain ambivalence of emotional needs, and to some extent of accepted norms of intersexual relationships, makes her react negatively to extreme pressures from either side. The foul language she hears at Barnard, the "extreme" feminism, reawakens her traditional values -- just as the male chauvinism reinforces her feminism.

Despite these conflicts, it is not the goal of medical career but her physical endurance to attain it that creates some anxiety. She is, however, continuing on her course.

Summary

B.'s interest in science and in medicine dates back to a 7th grade biology course and an encouraging male teacher. Her parents support her aspirations.

B. is "steadfast" in her occupational goal because (1) she is career-salient, (2) she did very well in pre-med courses in her freshman year, and (3) nothing happened to lower her interest in medicine.

The real problem is a lack of physical endurance and an anxiety about "making it," both in college, so as to be admitted to medical school, and through the demanding training. But despite these anxieties, she stays her course.

Steadfast, Case 3 (135)

C. is a daughter of foreign-born Catholic parents, both high school graduates. The father is a factory worker, her mother a seamstress. She is the first in her family to attend college.

Medicine (pediatrics) or, in case of failure to be admitted to medical school, some other health-related "back up" occupation were the choices made in 1979 and 1980.

C. is steadfast in her occupational choice because nothing had occurred in her freshman year to raise any doubts about it. If anything, her decision has been reinforced.

C. hopes to be married when she is about 28 years old and have four children, but not before she is established in a secure profession. Financial security in a career that helps people are the attributes of medicine that attract her. "I don't want to be stranded by my husband and then have to struggle on my own from the bottom in some minimum wage job." Her parents fully endorse her aspirations; they have carefully saved money for her college education.

C. stresses financial security and the prestige of her chosen occupation. She is fully aware of the costs of her choice in hard study, sacrifice of social life, competitive pressures in college, and all these augmented by the risk of being turned down by medical schools. C. sums up her attitude: "Am I good enough to do this? I'll never know unless I give it a try."

Several circumstances reinforced her confidence. The very fact of being admitted to so prestigious an Ivy League school boosted her

pride: "They picked little ole me as the cream of the crop." Her attitude contrasts strikingly with those expressed by some daughters of professional parents who were rejected by one or two still more prestigious colleges and for whom this college was not their first choice.

C. derived the greatest impetus to face the pre-med competition from the fact that the excellent grades she received during the first year of college exceeded her expectations. This unexpected success compensated her for diligent, exacting study, all the more exhausting because she carried a part-time job and was commuting to college.

C. has found one male professor, married and a father, especially supportive in his equal treatment of female and male students but particularly in his personal concern about her.

C. feels that she has grown over the year. Her horizon was widened by contacts with some feminist Barnard classmates, so different from "partying" high school friends, as well as with college and non-college men she encountered in her, of necessity, limited social life.

She has begun to see some problems in combining a large family and a career. Unwaivering in her determination to be established in a lucrative career before marrying in her late 20's, she leaves the rest to contingencies of the future. Indeed, if she marries a very rich man, she may prefer to work part-time now that she has developed new interests (particularly in the excellent art course), but also in travel.

Summary

C. was classified as only "moderately" career-committed despite her firm and continued intention to become a doctor. The very close relationship with both parents who encourage her to attain a position of financial security and social prestige, denied them, is certainly a major factor in her decision. She was encouraged by her unexpectedly high academic performance in a college that her family and high school circle of friends consider "elite." Some new feminist college classmates and one male professor supportive of her plans appear to have contributed to her steadfast occupational plans.

On the other hand, financial security and upward mobility appear to be much the more dominant motives for a career as against the intrinsic allure of a professional commitment. Hence she calmly entertains the possibility of a variety of contingent future patterns of combining work and family life, such as working part-time as long as her desired four children are pre-schoolers.

Conclusions: The Steadfast

The steadfast were the students who reaffirmed, in the Fall of 1980, the occupational plans they were "fairly certain" to pursue at the entrance to college. The occupations were generally professions -- medicine, child psychology, law and others. A relatively high proportion scored as "high" career-salient.

The steadfast students dated their occupational interests far back, two-thirds of the group to grammar school. They testified to encouragement and praise from high school teachers.

Having entered college with strong occupational aspirations, the steadfast students studied conscientiously, and performed as well (or better) academically as they had anticipated. A couple of students, disappointed in their first grades, mobilized their efforts and ended the academic year feeling reasonably satisfied with their record. Thus, far from experiencing the loss of self-confidence characteristic of defectors, they felt encouraged.

The strength of the original aspirations and satisfaction with academic performance apparently generated a purposeful utilization of the resources of the college. They took considerable initiative in seeking help from professors whom they liked, about one-half were active in college clubs related to future occupations, and a similar proportion took summer jobs, testing further their occupational choices.

The setbacks and negative sanctions, which in less determined students resulted in defection from original plans, in the steadfast,

paradoxically, often triggered indignation and, if anything, a greater determination to overcome discrimination and other obstacles. An unsympathetic professor, a "chauvinist" boy friend, for example, may immobilize one student and energize another.

We shall have other occasions to note the circular character of the processes of occupational decision-making. Given a crystallized occupational drive, the student tends to utilize the resources of the college in a manner that rewards her and reinforces the will. By contrast, uncertainty and ambivalence lead to passivity, underutilization of college supports, and a further retreat into confusion about the future.

Virtually all steadfast students reported that their parents were very supportive of their occupational choice, sometimes crediting a parent with the initial suggestion or serving as a model as one engaged in the occupation in question. A much higher proportion of the steadfast than of the defectors checked "very close and intimate" for the relationship with both parents, but particularly with the father. A revealing token was the phrase which repeatedly followed the description of parental supportiveness by the steadfast: "But they don't pressure me."

None of the steadfast went through a major emotional emancipation from parents or, indeed, had experienced any serious personal crisis during the year.

This is not to say that the group was free of conflict. In the Fall of 1980, these students became more acutely aware, than they had been in 1979, of problems involved in combining family life and

careers. This awareness came from various sources: their current problems of balancing academic demands with social life made some reflect about the likely stresses of professional schools and, beyond that, of family and careers; encounters with attractive men with, however, traditional expectations of women; some experience of discrimination against women in a summer job; a derisive remark of a male professor; peer pressure of traditional classmates; a babysitting job for a career mother creating some anxiety about child neglect; and, finally, warnings of some parents who, for all their advoacay of high goals, voice their anxiety about the high costs of studying "excessively" and sacrificing social life.

The profile presented above describes the majority but not all of the "steadfast." Included among the latter were some more traditional and less career-committed students. One such student (006) looks forward to an early marriage and, especially, to motherhood. What accounts for the stability of the occupational decision to become a child psychologist despite a low career salience?

Our data revealed what appears to be a new shared norm which dictates that finding one's place in the world of work is, for women also, the very touchstone of maturity and personal dignity, whatever the expected discontinuities in employment throughout the family life cycle. The aspiration to become a child psychologist is not so humble as to arouse derision on this campus, nor is it so ambitious (especially in one whose emphasis on family obligations is proclaimed) as to generate uneasiness in her somewhat traditional social circle. She receives full support for her occupational plans from female friends, her boyfriend, two sisters, and her parents. Moreover, superior performance, with a nearly A average for the freshman year, enhanced her self-confidence.

Adequate as these factors may appear to account for stability of her intentions, our analysis cannot rest here. The interview brought to light certain countervailing factors which might have deflected her from the original goal. Their failure to do so must be accounted for.

This student received A's in math and physics and was enthralled by both subjects. This, in itself, need not have overshadowed her prior, long standing interest in work with children. What is noteworthy was her surprise at the interviewer's remarks about the new concern to help women overcome "fear of math" and of sciences as fields of specialization

Another student, more feminist in ideology, might have recognized the significance of her exceptional performance and, even, experienced some moral imperative to "pioneer" and break new grounds for women.

Less relevant to occupational goals than to career salience were some other experiences of this student which might have changed her. The feminist values expressed by the students in one class (and abetted by the professor) were so at variance with her own religious and moral values as to move her to a passionate defense of her position. This defensive reaction was, certainly, the short run reaction, whatever the impact of this exposure to different values may turn out to be in the long run. There was a third way in which potential influences were blunted by her predispositions. Whereas feminist students perceive, or perhaps even exaggerate, manifestations of chauvinism on the part of some male professors, this traditional student has a high threshold in encounters with chauvinist attitudes. In discribing the interaction of a male professor in a co-ed class, she defined as "just kidding" what another student would certainly consider to be sexist remarks. Perception of sexism heightens indignation and thereby feminist values, whereas the same behavior defined as "just kidding" left our student unchanged.

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Undecided: Case Studies and Conclusions

Undecided, Case 1 (035)

A. is the daughter of a successful businessman, a college graduate, and a full-time homemaker mother who also finished college. The family is Jewish.

A.'s ideal life style would have created no problem for her had she lived in the 1950's. She'd like to marry a man of her faith, a good provider, have a house as nice as the home of her parents, raise kids in the style in which she grew up, have nice clothes, be able to entertain on a lavish scale -- in sum, follow in her mother's footsteps. She went to college because her parents expected her to and also in order to experience a new way of life.

"I never had any plans or ambitions when I was younger and I always thought I was supposed to. Everyone I knew in high school had some goals and I thought I should have one too . . . but I never knew what I wanted to be and I felt weird about that. No line of work ever appealed to me. My parents tried to reassure me by telling me that college will be the place to decide."

College proved disappointing in several respects. Since her only motivation for work is the financial reward, she thought of some lucrative business career. She has done well in math and computer science, but is frustrated by the liberal arts requirements and emphasis of the college. Most of her courses she found boring and, if she had the push, she would transfer to some college with a vocational emphasis. But, beyond this, she doubts that she has the aggression, stamina, and drive to do well in any business career. As to other possibilities,

she doesn't want to work with people, likes little children but wouldn't want to teach them, can't talk in front of others -- in sum, can't see herself really dedicated to any particular line of work.

The most absorbing feature of college life is socializing. She did not date much in high school and hoped to find greater opportunities to meet men in college. Social life, going to parties, drinking some, going to fraternity houses, is what she enjoyed most about her freshman year. She has not been successful in establishing a long-term relationship with a man, partly, she thinks, because she is traditional about sex. She'd like to remain a virgin until marriage. She likes the kind of man who takes control of a date but doesn't pressure her to have sex. She was shocked and disgusted by casual attitudes towards sex of a roommate who would get a call from a man at 2 A.M., grab her diaphragm and run out for a date.

She was also disturbed by her classmates' talk about careers: "The girls here seem to think that hanging out at the country club is a waste of time." Much as she was annoyed by this attitude and by the feminist sermons of her English professor, she surmised that by the end of the year, her new environment has exerted some influence. "These discussions opened my eyes to new ideas as to the country club." For example, she realized that she doesn't really like sports and might get bored just sitting around at home doing nothing. "I don't want to spend my life shopping and redecorating the house." She thought that perhaps part-time work for her own enjoyment rather than building a career might be a solution for her.

Most of her friends are the partying kind but some are also more serious scholars than she is.

College exposed A. to a wider range of values -- feminist, academic, sexual -- and this exposure aroused some anxieties. Moreover, she gets upset about disappointing grades. The major way of coping is to telephone her mother. (She once phoned for advice on what to do with a spider in her room.) She makes four or five long distance calls weekly and is invariably reassured by her mother whose view is that she is doing well enough and, in any case, "the most important thing I can do is to marry and have a happy family life." A. agrees with her father that her emotional dependence upon her mother is excessive; much of what her father thinks she learns from her mother because he is more reserved.

Summary

A. illustrates the plight of a more traditional person, deviant in this college milieu. Generally, A. is the story of the problems of being "the last to give up the old and to take up the new" in a society with shifting gender roles and sexual norms.

The reaction to the culture shock (e.g., classmates bent on careers and disparaging home and country club style of life; feminist professors; sexually experienced dorm mates) was at first a defensive resentment. She gets angry, she said, when others try to force their ideas on her as, for example, an English teacher whose interpretations were always slanted toward the women's liberation view.

All the same, after the initial resentments had subsided, she realized that some of the new ideas have influenced her. The feminist English professor who aroused her irritation once invited the class

to her home. She now realizes that a woman can be a college professor, be married with both husband and wife working, have a nice apartment, and seem to be pretty happy. Sarcastic remarks by some classmates about "country club" life made her wonder for the first time whether, in fact, that is the life she wants to lead. The sexual permissiveness hasn't shaken her hope to remain a virgin until marriage, but not without some attending anxieties about this sphere of life. She volunteered the remark that college had exposed her to different points of view, and has contributed to her tolerance and maturation. Though she doesn't agree with her, she is quite friendly with a feminist girl who wants no marriage or kids. However, of all her classmates, she is closest to a friend who shares her traditional views.

The disturbing (and perhaps also the potentially stimulating) impact of college is blunted by the constant reassurances of her mother whom she phones long distance whenever she feels anxious.

Undecided, Case 2 (124)

B. is the daughter of a professional father, employed in industry, and a mother, a college graduate, who stopped working after marriage. The parents are foreign-born and Catholic.

Both in 1979 and in 1980 B. checked: "I wish I did know what I wanted to do after college but I am quite undecided at present."

At both periods a business job was the only occupation she considered but felt uncertain about it.

The confusion felt at the start of the sophomore year could be traced, first of all, to a certain disappointment with the college. This urban college would not have been her choice had her protective European parents not insisted on her living at home. She was initially overwhelmed by the impersonality of the college, having come from a small, intimate high school. She hadn't expected and, indeed, was dismayed by the liberal arts and impractical character of the college. She had always thought of college as a preparation for a vocation. Neither professors nor counselors to whom she turned for help gave her any direction. She was irritated to hear their suggestions that any major would equip her equally well for the graduate school of business. The logical major, economics, was discarded because she found her first course too abstract and boring. Thus, the first year of college failed to clarify requirements for business or any other occupational goal. On the whole, she was somewhat disappointed in her professors (to none of them did she assign the highest of three possible scores in filling out our evaluation blank) and disheartened by her grades.

B. scored as "moderate" on the index of career salience and the score undoubtedly reflects her persistent confusion about the future. On the one hand, her mother, to whom she feels very close, stresses the importance of a career, having herself been disappointed by her failure to pursue some occupation. Her father, on the other hand, would be very happy if she married young because he is eager to have grandchildren. She herself feels that a career is important for financial security and to have something to fall back upon at a time when marriages appear so fragile.

All the same, having had to commute, hold a part-time job during the second semester and work in the summer created so much pressure that she now views work more realistically and is no longer sure that working hard is really necessary for one's self-esteem.

In describing the college environment, she places herself as a middle-of-the-roader between the feminists, whom she finds irritating, and the traditionalists. She credits the first year of college with making her more "intellectual," not the course work but because of contact with so many informed, articulate, and interesting girls. Her closest female friend, however, is not too academically involved and also wants a family and only part-time work.

She is both worried about her lack of goals and helpless to make any plans with so many unresolved issues and so many contingencies. She is not sure where she'll live, she hates the city, marriage is more appealing this year as she met some classmates who are married. Her desire to have children has also increased and it will be hard to combine marriage and kids. She read that the divorce rate is higher when

wives have careers because this may be damaging to male egos. She is not sure she wants to attend graduate school.

Summary

B.'s indecision about her occupational choice appears to have its cause in an acute ambivalence about future life styles. Her admitted worry about the future testifies to her concern about these issues.

On the one hand, perhaps under her mother's influence, she had always felt that work was necessary to her self-esteem and that she would want financial security and an occupation to fall back upon, with marriage so fragile an institution in contemporary society. In 1979, at the beginning of college, marriage, and especially children, seemed remote in a far off future.

The other side of her ambivalence stemmed from a certain disappointment with college. Because she finds no intrinsic rewards from her intellectual pursuits, the burdens of studying (combined with a part-time job) appeared excessive and raised doubts about the worthwhileness of a demanding occupation. She, in effect, now wonders whether hard work is a goal worth striving for. Whether as a product of these doubts or for more positive reasons, marriage and children are less distant and more appealing in 1980 than they were in 1979. This, in turn, raises the whole set of problems involved in combining work and family life.

A diminished motivation to work and the ambivalence this created appear to account for this "undecided" case.

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Undecided, Case 3 (216)

C. is a daughter of a Japanese father and a Protestant Caucasian mother. Both parents are college graduates.

This case demonstrates that an "undecided" student need not necessarily be a disinterested one, with a disappointing academic record for the first year of college. Neither need she be traditional in life style and, hence, indifferent to occupational choice. Nor, again, are "undecided" students characteristically those who did not undergo any personal development, describing the first year of college as uneventful.

C. worked hard and received the good grades she had expected to get at entrance to college.

The difficulty in deciding on a major and occupation stems, first of all, from a set of conflicts pertaining to occupations per se. We shall presently also describe her conflicts about life style preferences and obstacles these broader ambivalences create for a conclusive occupational choice.

The choice of occupational goals demands a price because not all values can be maximized by a given occupation. C. wants "hard money" but also has some "grandiose ideas about saving the Third World," that is, doing something socially useful. A similar conflict exists between an intrinsic interest in a field of study and its practicability, i.e., availability of jobs, the competitiveness required to achieve success in that field, and the like. For example, she enjoys playing the flute, dancing, writing poetry, but she fully recognizes that she lacks the drive, if not the talent, to achieve success in such chancy careers.

She has been subjected to conflicting pressures within her own family which is neatly split: her mother (botanist, who, lacking an advanced degree, works part-time at a university) and her brothers urge a major in natural sciences; her father, though not nearly as close to her as her mother presently is, stresses historical and social studies, with an interest in people which she herself resonates. She did consider math, because she had enjoyed it and has done well in high school. A very unsatisfactory male professor turned her off math as a major. On the other hand, a course on Urban Crisis was so very interesting -- "not that the professor was that great -- the reading and class discussions were exciting" -- that she thinks she may major in Urban Studies but is not at all sure that she will work in that field. She has rejected a math-science orientation for working with people but the particular occupational choice still eludes her. Of course, she volunteered, having a father who is an urban planner may have led her to romanticize this field.

Dilemmas of occupational choice pit intrinsic interest in a field against financial security, or service to society. Paradoxically, some non-college jobs, including one in a day-care center, created more uncertainty precisely by opening up new possibilities. She was proud to discover personal resources of skill and assertiveness she had felt herself lacking in the past, and the pleasure of working with children was a "total turn-around of my personality." The elimination of some majors, such as math, did not bring her nearer to a decision in the light of these new, but still not compelling enough, options.

So much for the indecisive attitudes towards various occupations.

The major cause of her indecision is probably rooted less in the foregoing conflict than in some basic ambivalence about future life styles. A major socializing agent, her mother, changed radically her own philosophy of life, perhaps in the light of the likelihood of divorce of C.'s parents. C. was brought up very traditionally to be a wife and a mother. She had rebelled against her mother and insisted that she may not marry and was even less interested in having children.

Marital tension and mother's disappointment over her aborted career led to her more recent assertion that she regrets having sacrificed her life for her children and is now urging her daughter to go to graduate school, prepare for a significant career, and not to be too concerned about having children. The relationship between mother and daughter has improved. But just as her mother began to play down marriage and family life as the ideal goal for her daughter, C., under the influence of her closest girl friend and her own experiences in the day care center, began to think more seriously of marriage and motherhood. Her much-admired married but childless career-committed aunt who had served as a role model is still an excellent sounding board and best friend, but C. had found out that her aunt's childlessness was not voluntary.

Nevertheless, C. still has, as she put it, some residue of a "fear of marriage," the fear that marriage might disarray her life and eliminate options to do anything else. C.'s high school boy friend wanted to come east with her, but she wouldn't want such an intense involvement: "With a boy friend either you are happy and distracted from school or depressed and not interested in school."

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C.'s attitudes at the start of her sophomore year are in flux: for all her residual "fear of marriage," the prospect of family life and motherhood is increasingly appealing. But with this appeal comes the realization of all the worrisome complexities of combining family life and work.

Summary

C. was a hard-working student who performed well academically, found an intellectually exciting subject in Urban Studies, and testified to growth in experience and self-confidence, mostly as a result of jobs held throughout the college year and in summer.

This perceptible acknowledged development did not bring her any closer to an occupational choice. If some disappointing courses helped her to eliminate a field, other experiences added new possibilities. But no field offered a compelling appeal, combining all the values she hopes to realize in an occupation: intrinsic interest, financial rewards, service to society. Various members of her family rooted for different subjects and her only step closer to a decision was an increasing inclination toward people-centered rather than strictly scientific fields.

A more basic source of confusion was an ambivalence about marriage, motherhood, and work. This, in turn, reflects some mixed feelings about each of these components in her future life. The ambivalence about each is exacerbated when she weighs problems of combining all three. Graduate school, timing of marriage, timing of children, loom as nearly insurmountable problems, making an occupational decision especially difficult.

Undecided, Case 4 (010)

D. is a daughter of Jewish parents who emigrated from a Middle Eastern country. The father is owner of a business which also employs her two older brothers. Both parents are high school graduates.

Not knowing what her major and occupation will be was, she explained in the 1980 interview, "driving me crazy"-- all the more so because she is surrounded by classmates who appear to be all set for significant professional careers.

D. is a member of a traditional ethnic-religious community and, despite her sophomore year residence in the dorm, spends every weekend with her family and maintains close ties with classmates of her parochial high school, many of whom attend various colleges in this city.

D. portrays with vivid humor the contradictory expectations her family has for her. But for all this clear perception, she remains a child of this subculture and cannot extricate herself from this net of irreconcilable goals.

Her mother would like her to be married at the early age of 19 or 20, traditional for the old country. Yes, D. mocks, she would also like a career for her daughter "as a two-day-a-week thing that brings in a lot of money." Her father asks her each week whether she has finally decided on a practical major that would lead to a worthwhile occupation. "He would like law or medicine." This pressure makes her nervous because she realizes that with two brothers in business, "I'm the only hope left for a professional in the family." But her father takes it for granted that, whatever the occupation, she will soon marry and raise a family.

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D.'s attitude to college is completely pragmatic. She was stunned to realize that some classmates took courses for "pure intellectual joy." "If I had room for a course that's not part of my major or something I'm planning for a career, I'd take a gut course to fill up my schedule," she said, explaining her amazement at a classmate's choice of a difficult genetics course "just to learn it."

Her indecision about future occupation is a constant worry to her and she has made a real effort to sample various courses to resolve this problem but with no success. She has eliminated various fields because she has found courses too difficult or too boring, or leading to occupations which will demand longer graduate and high pressure training than she wants for herself. An ideal would be a good business position right after college, but even there she has no specific business in mind and "that's what kills me."

A recent reaction to this indecision has been to return to the traditional expectations of the ethnic-religious community of relatives and friends. Some of her classmates have become engaged. D. is quite explicit about her motivation. She has become increasingly aware of problems in combining work and child-rearing. "Maybe I feel this way," she perceptively remarked, "because I'm not sure of my occupational and career objectives; because I don't know what to do, children appear as a higher level of priority." Her mother's life as a homemaker with her committees and projects no longer seems as empty as it did a year earlier in the freshman interview, when she said with some derision: "My mother probably wakes up every day and says to herself, 'What am I going to do with myself today?'" "During my freshman year," A. concludes,

"I used to think of a career as something exotic. It was like I'd see something as a movie. I would see a picture of myself out there. Now I know I don't belong in that movie." D. recently realized that she would feel left out if she deviated too far from the norms of her community, though she might still be something of a rebel, she thought, for example, by having her kids a bit later than the average.

Summary

Despite earnest efforts to find a major, D. reports with a touch of desperation her current state of total uncertainty. Since she views the major as a stepping stone to a final occupational choice, she discarded biology, the only subject that aroused some intellectual excitement, because she saw no future in such a major. The other subjects were either too difficult, or too boring, or led to occupations which required more graduate training and effort than she was willing to invest.

D., for all her moving description of the contradictory expectations of her parents for her (especially her father), is herself caught in those dilemmas. She has entertained fantasies of a well-paying and even an esteemed professional career. The family is not immune to society's values of upward mobility and affluence in their hopes for D. D. herself entered college feeling somewhat disdainful of her homemaker mother. But, with all this, she is a member of her ethnic community and subject to its norms. Although D. views herself as somewhat of a rebel (in her standing up to the family when it comes to the guys she dates, in becoming more tolerant as the result of her college experience of different values, e.g., pre-marital sex, smoking pot, though not the feminist movement), she is sufficiently integrated

in her ethnic milieu to admit that her mother has given her a "real complex" with stories of her girl friends' marriages and engagements. "It just scared the hell out of me, that maybe I wouldn't be able to get married," that is, if she delayed marriage. She would like to have some time with her husband alone before having children and still feels that a career is an important insurance in case marriage doesn't work out.

These cross pressures depleted her motivation to invest time and effort in graduate study and thus eliminated possible occupational choices that would require such an investment of effort. The failure to define an occupational goal threw her back upon the traditional life style supported by her milieu. As rationalization, or as expression of her own values, temporarily rejected, she now tends to return to the fold, asserting that children need maternal presence and that her mother's life with her "committees and projects" after all is not as dreary as she portrayed it in her freshman interview.

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Undecided, Case 5 (097)

E. is a daughter of Catholic parents, her father a business executive with a B.A. degree, her mother a homemaker, a high school graduate. E. has two sisters and a brother.

Her adolescent fantasies of future life ranged, in order, from marrying young and having a large family to becoming a movie star, and finally to combining a career with marriage and delaying childbearing until she felt firmly established in her career.

Her parents expect her to have a career, taking it also for granted that she will marry, stay home with young children and then return to work. Family life is taken so much for granted that the emphasis at the present time is on a career. They tell their daughter that she is a bright and capable person and should put her talents to some constructive use. "My parents," she smiled, "won't throw in my face ~~their~~ That, having spent $40,000 on my education; they would expect me to be more than just a housewife, because that is what my mother is, but underneath they expect me to do something responsible in the world, other than just becoming a wife and a mother." E. wholeheartedly agrees with them.

Of all her high school subjects, she liked English the most and was encouraged by one high school teacher and schoolmates to believe that her poems and short stories were superior. The girls she hung out with in high school "weren't afraid of being mental" and intended to enter good colleges, not just to find a husband but to prepare for professional occupations. As far as dating is concerned, she did go out with several guys, with none of them seriously.

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Upon entering college she became anxious and confused ("frightened" as she put it) by all the pre-med and pre-law classmates, so strongly motivated and firm in their goals, all the more so because they felt that an English major is impractical. She felt inferior to these classmates and in order to allay her anxiety, sought out an advisor in the Guidance Department and tried out courses in other fields. The reassurances from this advisor, from some other classmates with similar "impractical" majors, and from her parents, who felt that a liberal arts education is a sound foundation for any occupation, helped her to stay with English as a major.

Other college experiences, for all their broadening effects, merely increased her occupational uncertainty. She was never interested in making money but considered advertising as a possible field in which her English major and writing skills could be utilized. But she had joined the Catholic organization on campus and that awakened her interest in social and political causes. Now, contrary to her father's view, advertising is definitely excluded. "Advertising is creative," she remarked sarcastically, "but it is creating garbage. Setting up an ad campaign for some shampoo, I'd feel that I am polluting the world rather than reforming it."

The reawakening of her "social conscience" is reflected also in her growing support of feminist causes. She is comfortable with her two feminist classmates who had a major role in raising her consciousness even if her anti-abortion stand makes it unwise to join the women's collective. She hopes to work within the Catholic church for the liberalization of attitudes toward women.

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E.'s uncertainty about an occupational goal does not derive from any ambivalence about combining a career with family life. Perhaps because these problems appear distant to her, she feels confident she can solve them with the help of a sympathetic and cooperative husband. She is enjoying a loving friendship with a Jewish fellow student who doesn't pressure her about sex, respecting her religious beliefs without sharing them himself. Though marriage is unlikely, he made her feel confident of her ability to relate to a man. In her parochial high school, her career-orientation was somewhat deviant. But college has not only made her feel less of a deviant, it has, through the influence of classmates, reinforced her feminism, career motivation, and social concerns, without shaking her religious beliefs. If only she could discover how, in what occupation, she could best channel her motivations!

Summary

E. is a devout Catholic, brought up by supportive parents who emphasized the importance of combining family life with a career. E. has shared these career aspirations without finding any suitable occupational goal.

E.'s career drive does not spring from any specific intellectual or artistic interest but from her general philosophy of life. The problem arises because the only subject that appeals to her, and one she was strongly encouraged to pursue by her high school teacher, is English. But this subject has no clear vocational prospects and her interest in writing is not compelling enough to make her risk a career as a creative writer.

Her earnest explorations of other fields were cut short by "disastrous" grades of C, a shocking defeat to a student with a straight A high school record. Possibly, what she described as an inadequate science and math preparation of her parochial high school has led her to abandon in premature discouragement fields which might have eventually engaged her interest.

Some personal developments, positive as they may be, had, paradoxically, the effect of increasing her indecision. The awakening of a social conscience and a desire to dedicate her career to socially useful ends had the effect of ruling out advertising. A certain thirst for widening her life experiences by working in some foreign country, even at the cost of delaying graduate school, adds to her uncertainty because the desire to define her occupational goal is strong. She admires and envies classmates who are sure of their occupational directions.

Conclusions: The Undecided

The majority of the "undecided," the students who were equally at sea about occupational goals in 1979 and again in 1980, share a number of characteristics. To begin with, they tended to be traditional in their life style preferences, scoring as non-career cases. Moreover, whatever their high school grades, they lacked intellectual interests and entered college with expectations of wider social and generally "life" experiences rather than of scholarly attainments. Many were surprised and disappointed by the liberal arts emphasis of the college, bemoaning the vocational irrelevance of college requirements and most majors. Some wished they had resisted the lure of this Ivy League college and had chosen some other institution with vocational programs. A few considered transferring to another college but were persuaded that the prestige of the degree from this Ivy League college will outweigh, in their future search for jobs, the lack of vocational preparation.

Those who sought advice about courses and occupational direction from their professors were disappointed because the faculty reinforced the importance of intellectual values and failed to clarify specific vocational implications of various subjects.

None of the "undecided" took her uncertainty lightly, for all the disinterest in careers. This was a troubled group of students. Not only were they confronted with strongly motivated classmates in pursuit of firm occupational goals, but even the traditional women have now internalized a set of values that requires some decisions. The

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shared new norm requires that every college woman, whatever the family income, must find, upon graduation, some occupation and experience economic independence as the indispensable basis for self-confidence and self-esteem both in the present and as insurance for the future.

Searching as these students did, therefore, for some major with a vocational potential, they eliminated at the outset professions which required arduous graduate training and a subsequent life-long commitment. They were also easily discouraged by an unsatisfactory grade in some trial field, all the more so because they derived few intrinsic intellectual rewards from "purposeless" learning. An occupational goal occasionally stimulated a "steadfast" student to redouble her efforts after an initial C+ or B-. The "undecided," lacking that incentive, felt that they were pursuing a fruitless sampling of courses.

Another factor hindering occupational decision-making was the problem of selecting an occupation which would be compatible with familial obligations, as, for example, one to which a woman could return after a prolonged withdrawal for childrearing. Since the "undecided" gave priority to family life in their aspirations for the future, they had less stake than the career-committed students in minimizing the problems inherent in combining family life with work. If anything, they emphasized the irreconcilable dilemmas of such a combination.

Parental influences contributed to indecision by their exceptional ambivalences. These influences differed for the "steadfast" and the "defectors." The parents of those two groups (both parents or the more influential of the two) generally set high professional aspirations for their daughters. For the "undecided" the messages

conveyed by their parents were ambivalent. Occasionally a parent reassured the worried, undecided daughter by stressing the basic importance of a happy marriage and, conversely, the secondary issue of the choice of work. Much more frequently, however, parents were ambivalent. Thus, one father, whose first question to his daughter, turning home from the dorm each weekend, was, "Well, have you decided on some practical major?", took it for granted that she will marry young. He kept reminding her how eager he was to have grandchildren. A mother's attitude was mocked by her daughter: "My mother would like me to have a career as a two-day-a-week thing that brings in a lot of money." Another father who suggested a career in medicine or law to his daughter expressed concern about his daughter's lack of sufficient contacts with eligible men. He warned her about dangers of delaying marriage.

These contradictory parental messages had a paralyzing effect on the daughter because they required her to seek occupations which could somehow reconcile these diverse values.

Parental contradictions were all the more influential because most of the "undecided" were either admittedly overdependent upon one or both parents, or were still wrestling with the issue of "overprotection" and failing to attain a degree of emancipation from the family exhibited, for example, by the "converts." Perhaps the ethnic subculture which made for traditionalism of the "undecided" also dictated family controls, as in the case of the student chafing under parental demands that she live at home.

We noted that the "undecided" were relatively estranged from college peers and continued to maintain their most significant ties

with high school (sometimes parochial school) friends who were attending other city colleges. This estrangement from college classmates was vividly described by one student who felt "emotionally intimidated by all the girls who say, 'Yes, I'm going to be a doctor,' 'Yes, I'm going to law school,' 'Yes, I'm a psychology major.' I feel envious and full of awe hearing these girls. It's like the confidence gets sapped out of me."

This relative isolation from college peer networks, in turn, may have insulated the "undecided" against the potential influence of the intellectual and feminist values of the college.

This is not to say that the "undecided" remained unchanged by their first year of college. The five vignettes of the preceding pages illustrate many aspects of personal development. We need only remind the readers of the influence of her classmates' derision upon one student who had looked forward to a life similar to her mother's, centered in her home and the country club. This student, having at first defended her vision of a good life, eventually realized that she disliked sports and found other features of her projected life style less congenial than she had originally recognized. Other students testified that they had profited from college contacts with diverse values if only through having grown in tolerance or attaining a more voluntary and rational defense of their own hitherto tacitly accepted views.

The majority of the "undecided" were neither intellectually impassioned nor were they career salient. This may appear to account for their undertainty about occupational goals. However, the "undecided"

occasionally included quite a different type of student, one with a strong commitment to a life-long occupation.

In one such case, the student's desire to be a dedicated professional derived from her general philosophy of life rather than from any compelling defined intellectual or artistic interest. Thus the general career drive still remains to be channeled. True, unlike other non-career "undecided," this student will not automatically exclude an occupation requiring arduous graduate training.

The career-salient but "undecided" students appear to be caught in some dilemmas of value choices. A strong social conscience, the expectation that one's life work should serve to improve the world, narrows the range of choices by putting stringent demands on acceptable occupations. Another stumbling block is encountered when the most compelling interest is in a field with a bleak outlook for employment.

Finally, some career-salient students are at a stage of personal development when the most pressing thirst was for a more diffuse experience of life, e.g., work in a different region, country, social stratum. This thirst to widen one's experience, prior to professional specialization, distracted some students from investing their energies in occupational decision-making. The process is no doubt circular. The crystallization of an occupational goal generates purposeful activity and, conversely, its absence allows free-floating fantasies to assert themselves. All the same, the wish for diverse experiences need not in all cases be merely a rationalization of indecision. The willingness to take risks and a search for experiences beyond the

walls of academe may distinguish these personality types from students who single-mindedly pursue defined occupational goals.

There is one final caveat with which we shall conclude this sketch of "undecided" students. To remain undecided about occupational goals is not necessarily to remain static. Considerable development may take place in the individual student without bringing her any closer to a choice of occupation. This is not merely the case when a student discards a possible occupational lead because of a newly discovered lack of interest or ability. A widening of interests in subject matter areas may leave a student more confused. So can a heightened interest in having children or a relationship with a man which puts expectations about the future in a new perspective.

Nevertheless, when "undecided" are compared with "converts" (students who, having rejected an occupational interest expressed in 1979, decided by Fall of 1980 on a new direction), the latter were found to have undergone more significant developmental changes over their freshman year. Many present themselves as "changed persons," a degree of personal change the "undecided" seldom professed.

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Converts: Case Studies and Conclusions

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Converts, Case 1 (029)

A. is a daughter of a college-educated commercial artist father and a mother who dropped out of college and is at present serving as a secretary in her husband's small business in a Western city.

A. entered college as a pre-med. The original choice of medicine and an early defection from this plan is clearly explained in A's interview.

A. was an honor student in high school, with an A record in the sciences. Her interest and competence in science, together with her determination to have a professional career led her to choose the "very prestigious" occupation of a gynecologist. This decision was reinforced by her need to resist the constant pressure from her father (the relationship with whom was described on our checklist as "very tense and strained") to enter some artistic occupation. When she told him of her plans he mocked her choice of medicine as a profession "with no soul in it." She explained that the need to make certain that she is setting her own goals and to rebel against her father reinforced her decision to take a pre-med program.

The science courses taken in her first semester in college dispelled her illusions. Not only were her grades of B and B- disappointing, she realized that she was really not interested in chemistry and biology. She found them "mechanical, very difficult, and boring, requiring memorization of facts, with no intellectual and theoretical challenge." She remarked, perceptively, in her 1980 interview: "Being away from home lessened my rebellion against my father. My other interests reasserted themselves."

Having given up medicine, A. felt greatly pressed to find a new major and a new occupational goal. The pressure was self-imposed--her parents assured her that college years were meant to be carefree with no hurry for final occu-

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pational choice. A. sought advice from her official college advisor whom she found uninterested and not helpful and her boyfriend, who is undecided himself. Clearly, the seeking of advice was merely talking over her worrisome uncertainty. She noted: "I don't really listen to other people's advice."

Two new occupational goals have emerged at the time of the Fall 1980 interview. A. is seriously considering an academic career, especially as a professor of Women's Studies and, possibly, a career as a journalist.

How have these occupational directions emerged?

In A's case the pressure for some decision became increasingly strong as her feminist consciousness and determination to pursue a life-long occupation have been enhanced by significant personal development during the freshman year and the summer internship in Washington. Prior to coming East to college, she was interested in women's issues but "very family-oriented," hoping to get married right after college. Now, she is determined to delay marriage until she is established in her career, perhaps at the age of 27 or 28. She does not want marriage to hinder her graduate studies or prevent geographical mobility that finding a job may demand.

The growing involvement in the women's movement, the self-confidence and enjoyment of independence, as a result of her summer internship in Washington, combined to strengthen her career drive. This in turn raised the anxiety to define her occupational goal. The same influences played a role in the provisional choice of an academic career as a professor of Women's Studies or, less likely, as a journalist.

A. gave a full account of her growing awareness of sexism. The Washington, summer 1980, internship as a lobbyist for environmental causes provided a vivid experience of discrimination against women. She felt she was more intelligent and articulate than her male fellow-internist and yet, in the interviews with

government officials the men "looked through her" and addressed their conversation to her male companion.

But the main credit for her developing concern with women's issues goes, A. claims, to her friendship with a feminist classmate, who "dragged" her to her first college feminist meeting and persuaded her to join clubs, attend conferences, and begin writing on women's issues for the campus paper.

Her growing awareness led her to a new view of her parents' disastrously sexist marriage: her father, a self-centered man and her mother, who wishes she hadn't lived all her life to serve the interests of others. A. now understands what her mother meant when she said that, given another chance, she might not have married, but pursued a career in journalism or social work.

Apart from involvement in the feminism cause, college had another major impact on A. Three courses in humanities and literature generated such intellectual excitement that A. was fired by a new idea to become a college professor. These courses changed the way she now views art, literature, films. The appeal of an academic profession is all the greater because A. disclaims an interest in making a lot of money--having intellectually stimulating work is her main wish. A. made a special point of noting that one of her male humanities professors was arrogant and uncongenial and it was the subject matter that enthralled her. However, in addition to her feminist classmate, A. attributes her personal growth and also a new occupational interest to another professor, a young literature professor who showed respect for her students' intelligence and with whom she enjoyed many intellectual discussions outside of the classroom. This woman professor, A. remarked, "helped to integrate me into the college community."

Thus, these rewarding academic courses stirred in A. a desire to become a member of the academic profession, perhaps, in Women's Studies. She would like, in her own words, "to write and think out arguments and exchange idea with others

on my own level." She would not consider teaching in high school. Her father has a prejudice against academics in their ivory tower, escapee from the real world.

A. is still considering, but with lesser enthusiasm, a career in journalism, since her contribution to the campus newspaper gave her confidence in her writing ability.

A support of another nature, A. receives from her boyfriend, whom she had met at the freshman orientation and with whom she had developed a close relationship. He helped her overcome some sexual anxieties and he, generally, supported her explorations of future occupational plans.

Summary

The rejection of medicine, as the occupational goal affirmed at entrance to college, is easily explained. The choice of medicine had somewhat shallow roots: a desire for a prestigious career, some interest, and high grades in high school science courses, and the rebellion against the pressure of her father (with whom relations are "very strained") to enter some creative and artistic occupations. The pre-med college courses in the sciences proved not only too difficult but not at all interesting. She soon realized that the sciences and, therefore, medicine are not for her

The conscious desire to overcome her dependence upon the family and, no doubt, some inner strength led to considerable growths of self-confidence. Apart from the college, a summer internship in a Washington lobbying organization has taught her a lot both about herself (that she can be alone) and about the world (that it is sexist).

A. felt strongly the need to replace the abandoned choice of medicine with a new occupational goal. This anxiety was not at all relieved by parental advice

to enjoy "carefree college years." Since the year has increased her determination to have a career (and to delay marriage for its sake) she was all the more serious in her search for alternative directions. Two significant personal developments led to the crystallization of new plans. One was a new engagement with women's issues, organizations, and activities. A feminist classmate served as a catalyst. The second was an intellectual awakening in several courses in the field of humanities. A female professor in discussions, outside of classroom, gave A. a taste of how rewarding membership in an academic community might be.

A satisfying relationship with a boyfriend relieved some sexual anxieties and provided the peace of mind which, in turn, enabled her to channel sufficient energy to clarify occupational directions.

Converts, Case 2 (050)

B. is the older daughter of Jewish parents with less than a college education, the father a skilled civil servant, mother a homemaker.

B., certain in 1979 to be an M.D. as a practitioner of medicine or a researcher, changed in 1980 to an equally certain intention to become a clinical psychologist.

Since elementary school, sciences had been her favorite subjects and she wanted something in this occupational area. She considered being a doctor in junior high school, then switched her interest to medical research, this because she spent time at the Long Island Science Congress doing medical research and liking it.

When she entered college she was back to her original interest in being a doctor, because this permitted her to continue with her long-standing interests in medical research as well as her interest in people. This latter was new-found interest. She has been under sustained pressure from her parents to study hard and make good grades in high school, and their pressure led her to "panic" and develop ulcers. Of her own accord she had sought the assistance of a school psychologist with her family problems. Not only was this woman personally helpful, but the student generally discovered that she enjoyed hanging around the counseling office and talking with people. Financial security is also an important value to her in an occupation.

While B. guessed that her parents were the ones to suggest to her in junior high school that she be a doctor in the future, most of their pressure was directed at her excelling in school (as she started in college, her father would telephone her from work to make sure that she was studying). Her mother, however, would have probably preferred that she be a doctor rather than a medical researcher because of the higher pay. The student once sent away for information from the

Armed Forces, because she understood that they paid one's way through college, but her parents were opposed. Her father said that he could not see her driving a truck. While her father took a traditional role in the home, he "never thought twice about my going to college even though I am a girl." Both parents wanted her to have a career.

Fall 1980: Processes of Defection
Occupational Attributes and Values

In her sophomore year this student has dropped the idea of being a premed major and, with it, the idea of going on to medical school. In her first semester of college she dropped her chemistry course which was part of her premed program. Chemistry was a "nightmare course": she was constantly behind in the course work, and college chemistry was just too complicated although she had liked it in high school. She did not inform her parents that she had dropped the course until much later, and there was a "ruckus."

More generally, the student attributes the dropping of chemistry to a preoccupation with other, more salient problems at the start of her college experience. Very troubled about being socially accepted at college, and not having had relationships with men in high school, she purposely devoted her first semester to demystifying sexual reactions and, by her own admission, was sexually promiscuous. She pursued her social life over-zealously and as a result did not do much academic work. Moreover, this student is afflicted with arthritis and was ill a good part of her first year.

A specific event turned her away from the thought of pursuing advanced medical training. In her Sociology of Medicine course she learned how difficult it was to gain admission to medical school. Besides she vividly recalls reading an article which had a significant impact on her, in which the differences between expectations and real life experiences of medical students were discussed.

The values underlying her occupational aspirations have not substantially changed. She is now channeling her interests away from medicine and towards psychological research or clinical practice which also will involve her with children, people in general, and research. Whereas, when a freshman, she wanted to attend medical school, she now claims she wants to go on to graduate school for the same reasons: she needs the security of a decent job. A graduate degree will ensure greater job opportunities and a way to better herself generally through the acquisition of more knowledge. A new value has surfaced now. Although she characterizes herself as remaining "noninvolved politically", the non-college enviornment of the city has exposed her to the suffering of others, and she would now like to do something involving social reform, in her role as a psychological therapist or researcher.

Self-Concept

During her freshman year this student moved toward a more realistic assessment of her abilities. When she entered college she did feel that, although she had found chemistry and physics difficult, she had done well on her biology AP examination and therefore felt she could make a good biologist. However, this assessment was tinged with fantasy and tempered with self-doubt. She always had fantasies about discovering something in medical research - "or something like being the first woman on the moon." At the same time she worried that being a doctor was not in fact what she might do best (for example, she was worried she could not be accurate enough in lab work) and that she might be pursuing this particular career only because she had thought about it for so long, and not because it particularly suited her. She asked herself as a freshman: "Would I have the courage to break away from this field that I've always aspired to?"

In Fall 1980 she had decided that she was not suited to medicine. Changes in her self-concept that directly impinged on her occupational defection were that she felt "physically limited," incapable of the intense and prolonged study required (she is only in school, she now admits, because without it she cannot get anywhere, and belief in graduate education has been "ingrained" in her by her parents), and unable to "stand the sight of blood anymore." Her personality is not suited to the life-style of medicine.

Self-Confidence

This change in self-concept does not represent a diminution of self-confidence. New intellectual interests have given her a new career direction, and one about which she feels more relaxed and realistic. This is a happy defection. She was excited by the ideas in a philosophy course and is now able to take psychology courses which have always interested her. She is seriously considering a psychology major with a biology minor and remarks that psychology is "sort of like biology applied to people." She feels confident she can do well in psychology if she applies herself.

Role Partners:

Her Sociology of Medicine professor gave her support in her new intellectual approach to former concerns. "I had a lot of talks with her about things relating to myself because of my arthritis. My parents had accused me of being a hypochondriac when I was young because my arthritis wasn't diagnosed, and this has always troubled me. I would talk to the professor about things like 'Does one who is a hypochondriac have more or less pain tolerance?'" The professor herself had always been interested in these issues. At the same time, she also encouraged the student to stand on her own two feet, and treated her personal

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problems in a non-emotional manner. This attitude was new to the student, and one from which she benefitted. A male English teacher provided sympathy when she discussed her illness with him.

Her changed relationship with her parents over her freshman year altered her self-concept and increased her self-confidence, which indirectly affected her "defection" process. This improved parental relationship allowed her freedom to answer the nagging question: Would she have the courage to break away from her long-standing interest in medicine? In the past, this relationship had preoccupied her, troubled and colored much of her approach to her life. When her father discovered that she had sought psychological help in high school his response had been to fly into a rage, beat her, and insist that family problems remain within the family. Parental pressure to achieve academically diminished over her freshman year, and the relationship improved to the point that the student confessed that "she occasionally actually missed her parents."

All this led to developmental changes. As a freshman, the student had maintained that career was important to her, but the most important thing was for her to establish a loving relationship with a man. Based largely on her unhappy childhood, however, she felt unable and unlikely to establish a sound marital relationship, be a good mother, and rear happy children. Now, though, she feels more sanguine about her abilities in this area. Despite the fact that she has discovered new emotional strengths in these non-work areas, there is no change in her career saliency. When it comes to having a career, she will plan one with "me in mind, and not with the possibility of having kids."

And although the salient issues for her in the first semester were ones involving her non-academic life, she now feels she learned from her sexual promiscuity, deliberately stopped it in her second semester, and now considers herself more rational and able to care for herself both socially and physically.

The continuing importance of a career was revealed in her comment that she feared that one day her college promiscuity would be unearthed by someone and do damage to her career.

Summary

Three general factors were included, as we have seen, in her abandonment of medicine. First, a more realistic assessment of the difficulties and nature of medicine vis-a-vis both her stamina and interests. Secondly (and college played a role in it) a newly acquired emanicipation from parental dominance which gave her the emotional leeway and courage to act on some latent misgivings she had always felt about her suitability for medicine. Finally, being committed to a career, she needed an alternative before she could drop medicine. She found such an alternative in clinical psychology.

Her interest in clinical psychology was aroused by her high school experience with psycho-therapy as well as by the college courses in psychology.

Converts, Case 3 (188)

C. is a daughter of mixed parentage: a native born Catholic father, a high school graduate, an employee in a business company, and a Baptist mother, born in Central America, with eight years of schooling. The mother is employed as a skilled factory worker.

In 1979 C. planned to major in drama. Her parents had always encouraged her interest in playing the piano, the flute and playing in the school band. But she never wanted to be a professional musician. Having performed in school plays, she developed an interest in an acting career. Her father approved it, her mother, she thought, would have preferred something more practical, like medicine or law. But her parents raised her "to think like a man, and to be independent before marriage." Her mother has always worked parttime partly for financial reasons but, also, because she like working. Mother often explained to C. that if a wife doesn't work, whe doesn't grow whereas her husband does. C's father is traditional in respect to women, resenting women in his own work but less so with his daughters, to the extent of approving her sister's hope to become an engineer.

In high school she had related better to boys; girls were resentful of non-traditional girls and had warned her about leaving California for the East, whereas her high school boyfriend was much more encouraging about her going to an Eastern Ivy League college.

Coming East to college brought significant personal changes. The first semester's course in play production was so uninspiring, the professor so boring that she began to waver in her plan to major in drama. Not only did she recognize the less glamorous side of the theater, the realistic side, she did not like the students who were majoring in the theater: "I don't know, their appearance, just

the whole psychological effect they had on me, the way they thought... it was a very closed-off world." A good friend of hers tried to convince her that an acting career is a futile dream and C. was upset by this even though she knew that this friend had a defeatist attitude in general.

Even as C. was becoming disenchanted with the theater, some experiences were changing her in other respects.

Despite her mixed background C. had always thought of herself as an Anglo but upon coming to college she has for the first time experienced discrimination against Hispanics from classmates. This raised her awareness of her ethnicity. She joined Hispanic clubs but could not identify with them completely.

Several professors took a personal interest in her but none influenced her more than an impassioned male Spanish professor who often discussed the problems of Hispanics in urban centers. His lectures articulated her own shock at conditions in New York: "I had lived in a city all my life, but never in one like New York. Just being here, riding the subway made one aware of city needs--the the decay and everything. Actually I've become more aware of the needs of poor people."

A course in Urban Studies helped crystallize those new concerns. She now wants to help others in her position, wants to enter Hispanic communities and educate children about their rights and opportunities in going away to school. "What it really comes down to is that education is the whole core of a Hispanic woman's success because without it she has nothing." "I wouldn't want to be just one more Hispanic woman who has quit school and I want to help others." A major in Urban Studies, she now feels, will prepare her for community organization work in this area.

C. has, also, developed since coming to college a better relationship with women. She finds all female classes more conducive to open discussion. She was

impressed by reading in the newspaper that graduates of women's colleges have a higher self-esteem and record of achievement. In fact she herself feels more confident after a year of college. She respects her classmates, admires them for their desire for achievement, so unlike the silly girls of her California high school.

C. was classified as only "moderately" career salient in both 1979 and 1980.

Summary

Case 3 illustrates several processes in conversion. The disillusionment with her original choice of an acting career came less from new perceptions of negative attributes, intrinsic to the occupations, than from disappointment in the college drama program. The first professor in drama she found boring and she was repelled by the fellow students in that major as "so up against the wall" all the time. Perhaps because of this disillusionment, C. was especially susceptible to the discouragement of her girlfriend who kept telling her that she'll never make it as an actress. This criticism upset her even though she knew that her friend had a general defeatist attitude towards life.

Just as her disenchantment with her original plan grew, other events awakened a new awareness and new interests.

C. came to an Eastern Ivy League college from California and found herself for the first time in her life confronted by an ethnic identity crisis. She had always thought of herself as an Anglo. She had never before come across the negative attitudes towards Hispanics that she encountered at college. Soon upon arrival, she got into an argument with a roommate who said "some nasty things about Puerto Ricans, adding, "of course you wouldn't agree being a Spic yourself." Having encountered this discrimination, she singled out other Hispanics at college but she could not identify with them: "They were too self-consciously Spanish." The upshot was a "very lonely freshman year."

A male professor of Spanish literature had a major influence upon her emerging ethnic self-consciousness, and indirectly, upon occupational plans. He was an inspiring teacher who discussed at length the plight of Hispanics in American cities. He crystallized for her her own new experiences: "Riding the subways to a downtown job had a big impact on me, so much poverty and decay, no one cares, I wanted to take all those poor youngsters home with me." She discussed these and other problems (the possibility of taking the junior year in Spain) with the same Spanish professor.

C. is now seriously considering a major in Urban Studies as a way of "learning about how to help people in cities." She liked her summer job as a loan processor in Hud and that reinforced her interest in Urban Studies.

This case demonstrates an interplay between a new self-concept (as a marginal woman with a drift towards an ethnic identity), on the one hand, and the influence of a professor, on the other. Materials in the interviews with C., both in 1979 and in 1980, raise some doubt as to how persistent she will be in her new occupational orientation.

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Summaries of Other Converts

Case 4 (100)

D. is a daughter of Catholic parents, her father an M.D. in psychiatry, and her mother, a college graduate and a full-time homemaker. Her mother had several nervous breakdowns, requiring temporary hospitalization. D. referred to her father as being "a father and a mother" to her and her siblings.

D. entered college intending to become a journalist. Since the 4th grade, she had a strong interest in literature and writing and was an honor student in her parochial high school.

The primary factor that led to rejection of journalism was certainly not disappointment in college courses (her favorite course was on the Novel), nor was it poor performance, since she received A's in both English courses. She realized that "there didn't seem to be anywhere to go with English after college." Her father kept reminding her of this fact, as did the senior majors in English who were so undecided about their future occupations.

Another, probably a less important factor that "soured" her on a career as a journalist, was her unsatisfactory experience on the campus paper, the editor of which gave her so little scope to improve the paper that she resigned in disgust.

Despite an uninspiring first teacher in psychology, she got very interested in the subject and now intends to major in it with a view of becoming a clinical psychologist, for which she will require a doctorate. She volunteered the comment that her father may have played more of a role in this choice than she had at first realized, with all the dinner table conversations about how fascinating his profession was. Not that he ever suggested this occupation. In fact, he advised her against medicine: "It's a great profession," he used to say, "if a woman doesn't want to get married. I don't know one woman doctor who has had a successful

marriage. It's sad but society places too many demands upon women." Her father wants her to have a career that can be more easily combined with family life. But he has always pushed her more than he has her brother, who was always so undecided, or her sisters who didn't do nearly as well in school.

D. is a devout Catholic who is rethinking her religious faith under the impact of peer influence. She has had a number of conflicts. She supports more strongly the women's movement since coming to college but her anti-abortion stand creates a wedge between her and her feminist classmates. The few Catholic virgins she knows in college assume she is one also, and she does not reveal to them that she has a lover, an older graduate student. She resisted the sexual advances of this young man until the beginning of her sophomore year. He has provided strong emotional support for her in periods of anxiety but his different religion and his fear of commitment have created problems for her in their on-again-off-again relationship.

In conclusion, D's case illustrates several general ideas. The defection from D's original and strong interest in an English major certainly was not caused by poor performance but by a growing realization of how impractical the major was. The change to psychology was surely the result of her father's long-time enthusiasm for his own work combined with the interests awakened by her first two courses in psychology.

This case illustrates that a student with only a "moderate" career salience has no misgivings about so major an investment as one required by a doctorate in clinical psychology. D. does associate the woman's economic contribution to the family with her sense of autonomy and power. But she described calmly the sequential pattern she expected to follow. Perhaps the future appears too distant but there was no inkling in the interview of a frustration she might experience even in a temporary withdrawal from a profession requiring so demanding a preparation and, presumably, a rewarding one.

Finally, we witness again the high occupational expectations that a father may have for a daughter, especially if, unlike her older brother and other siblings, she has a good scholastic record. It is as if the desire for upward mobility for his children (or the maintenance of high status) has to be satisfied by the most promising offspring, a daughter, if the sons are unlikely carriers of such longings.

Case 5 (192)

E. is a daughter of Puerto Rican parents with grade school education, the father a factory worker. E. shifted her occupational choice from a business career to computer programming.

E. attended a private preparatory school on a scholarship and she attributes to that experience her relatively easy adjustment to college.

She did well in school and it was always understood that she would go on to college with a view of preparing herself for some white-collar work. Her father has always encouraged her ambitions. He often reminded her: "I don't want you to work in a factory and do manual work. You will work in an office doing clean work." The idea of a business career came to her when, in a part-time job in a business office prior to coming to college, she realized how much she had enjoyed contacts with people and her skill with numbers.

Upon arrival to college (which was not the college of her first choice) she was disappointed to discover that there was no major in business. She considered transferring but a woman with whom she became friendly, her English professor, dissuaded her from leaving.

In searching for alternative majors, she tried a variety of courses, each with a possible practical occupational goal. The experiment with accounting ruled out this field because she found the subject both boring and difficult. Economics and psychology were interesting but she decided to keep up these interests as intellectual hobbies because she felt that she found what she was seeking in computer science. She was prompted to give a course in computer programming a try, having enjoyed such a course in high school. She "loved" the college course, felt a great sense of accomplishment whenever, having worked hard on a program, she actually made it work in the computer room. She knew that the

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field offered good job opportunities and upon inquiring, found that she could, indeed, major in computer science, taking some courses in the engineering school.

E. has a boyfriend sympathetic to her career aspirations. Their relationship is serious enough to lead to discussing marriage after their completion of college. She is committed to working and wouldn't want to hang around the house but, if anything, she values family life and responsibilities to young children even more highly--"So I'm going to have problems," she concludes.

Conclusions: The Converts

The converts present two theoretical challenges. We need to understand why they turned away from their early occupational plans, a change they share with defectors. But in contrast to defectors and the undecided, the converts found a resolution of their uncertainty by Fall of 1980 in newly formulated plans and this second change also requires an explanation.

For the converts the most frequent immediate cause of defection from an original occupational goal was the disenchantment with courses basic to the chosen field. The more realistic exploration of the field disclosed attributes of the subject matter, more boring or otherwise uncongenial, than the student expected either from high school courses in the same field or from more speculative anticipations. Often, but not invariably, this disenchantment was also associated with a disappointing grade.

Students' values were also involved in rejection of an original choice. A student with a deep interest in English literature became persuaded that English was so hopelessly impractical a major as to frustrate her desire to have a lucrative occupation. In this case, a closer look at the occupational goal, convinced the student that it would conflict with her long-held economic values. More frequently, values entered into occupational changes in a different way. In the course of the freshman year the student's ranking of values changed and with new priorities, so did the demands placed on future work. These shifts may be illustrated by a new passion for some social cause, overshadowing the wish for purely personal success. Again, the disposition to invest effort in an arduous pre-professional training was weakened or strengthened by changes in the relative salience of careers, marriage, or motherhood.

Shifts in relationships with parents during the first year of college had an interesting effect upon occupational choice. A degree of emancipation from parents

enabled some students to discard a goal chosen for them, in effect, by their parents. If some were thus emboldened to challenge parental authority, others experienced a growing sense of autonomy in a different way. An example will serve as an illustration. One student chose medicine largely as a gesture of rebellion against her father who strongly opposed this choice. Early in her first semester she began to have some misgivings about medicine. But the courage to admit this mistake to herself came, on her own testimony, from her growing sense of independence as the result of moving away from home and of other college experiences. At long last, she no longer needed to test her independence by the defiance of her father.

One root difference between defection and converts appears to lie in the impact of the first year of college upon the student's self-concept and, especially, self-esteem. The converts, even as the defectors, were disappointed with the grades in the courses of their intended majors. However, of the two groups, the defectors suffered a more crushing blow to their self-esteem. They not only had somewhat lower grades but reacted with a more severe dejection than the converts to similar grades.

This greater vulnerability to defeat, characteristic of the defectors, as against the converts was associated with a cluster of other patterns, possibly as the consequence of vulnerability or, conceivably, as related symptoms of some common underlying factor.

In any event, the vulnerable defectors reacted to their sense of failure by retreating and by a hostile withdrawal from what they described as fiercely competitive classmates as well as from the college faculty and personnel. The converts, on the contrary, exercised considerable initiative in seeking out the formal college resources of major and occupational counseling. Moreover, converts, unlike the defectors, enjoyed one or more friendly relationships with

their professors. These professors, the students explained, provided general encouragement rather than specific occupational advice. Their function was described as "she helped to integrate me into the college by her interest in me and our intellectual discussions," or "she served as a role model," or "she gave me a kind of motherly support."

The defectors, by contrast, failed to report such contacts with professors. Some, in fact, failed to accept a professor's offer of help with a course, suspecting that she would merely be subjected to some pressure to major in the professor's department.

Here, again, the contrasting behavior of defectors and converts illustrates the circular, cumulative processes that set the two groups on ever-widening projectories. The hurt and, occasionally, hostile withdrawal of the defectors results in further alienation from college and a retreat from involvement in occupational decision-making. The converts were more open to contacts and experiences provided by the college which, after initial uncertainty, engaged them in a new process of occupational exploration.

The greater openness of the converts than of the defectors was manifested also in the significant developmental changes the former reported in their 1979-1980 sets of interviews. Several converts presented themselves as "changed persons" e.g., developing a new ethnic identity, a new feminist consciousness, a greater desire for children, a new career salience. The defectors, on the other hand, apart from a loss of self-esteem, manifested little personal development.

The developmental changes reported by converts were frequently implicated in the search for and discovery of new occupational directions. Thus, a student with a newly salient sense of ethnicity now wants to work in the field of minority relations. A convert to feminism hopes to become a professor of Women's Studies,

a student, increasingly aware of her own and her family's emotional problems, has switched to psychiatry as a likely occupation.

Converts were contrasted with defectors in order to throw light on the ability of the former to replace discarded with new occupational goals. What can we learn about the same problems by contrasting the converts with the undecided, the group equally uncertain about future jobs in 1980 as in 1979?

Several factors, as we have seen in the "Conclusions: The Undecided" immobilized this group. These were much more traditional in life-style preferences, with the lowest proportion of career-salient students of all occupational types. Moreover, they lacked intellectual interests and were disappointed in the liberal arts, as against a vocational emphasis of the college. They felt that they paid a high price for choosing the prestige of an Ivy League college which lacks vocational programs of other institutions.

Finally, they were subjected to especially severe cross pressures both from within and emanating from their families. Not interested in life-long occupations, looking forward to traditional marriages, they nevertheless took job-seeking quite seriously. They expected to work prior to marriage and, perhaps, later in life, both for economic reasons and normative imperatives. However, being primarily concerned with their future familial obligations and lacking compelling intellectual interests, they found this liberal arts college with many highly motivated pre-professional classmates a difficult setting in which to find an occupational direction. They ruled out demanding professions, requiring a laborious training and difficult to combine with family life. At the same time, the college milieu provided no exposure to many kinds of jobs, other than professions, which would probably better suit their needs.

But the conflict had deeper roots. If they somehow succeeded in resolving the dilemma of work at not too high a price of a "career," their parents often

presented conflicting expectations. A father might suggest a career of medicine or law to his daughter on one day and express his eagerness for grandchildren on the next. As one student put it: "My mother would like me to have a career as a two-day-a-week thing that brings in a lot of money."

These conflicting parental pressures were all the more significant because the undecided were as a group, dependent upon their families. Perhaps their traditional gender orientations were part and parcel of close family ties of traditional families. In any event, parental views mattered because the undecided as a group did not experience the degree of emanicipation from their families observed among the converts.

Summary

This paper presented four typical trajectories of occupational decision-making. Its conclusions appear in the profiles which summarize the illustrative case studies of each type: defectors, pp. 18-19; steadfast, pp. 31-33; undecided, pp. 54-59; and converts, pp. 81-85. The discoverers remain to be analyzed.

The purpose of this summary is not to review the profiles of each type, but to note a series of miscellaneous observations, some of which are hypotheses to be tested in the third wave of the study.

One of the serious obstacles to occupational planning is the students' ignorance of the world of work. Their range of options is restricted to some dozen of generally familiar occupations. The college which is the site of this study has made an effort to bring to the campus speakers representing less obvious lines of work. Such attempts to stretch the imagination of students must be sustained and expanded.

One surprising finding was the extent of worrisome concern with occupational choice on the part of the freshmen. Even traditional students, who scored "low" on career salience, hoping to marry young and raise a large family, felt that they should define their occupational goals. We are, apparently, witnessing a new norm which dictates that finding one's place in the world of work is for women, also, the very touchstone of maturity and personal dignity, whatever the expected discontinuities in employment throughout the family life cycle. This is not to say, of course, that all students were equally active and purposeful in their search for such goals.

The interviews illuminate in rich detail a generalization, well recognized in general theory but less frequently demonstrated in research on college impacts. We refer to the interplay between the predispositions the student brings to college and the nature of its impact. It should not come as a surprise that the effect of any stimulus, especially so complex as the college experience, will not be uniform but will be modified by the initial characteristics of the students. The vast literature on the impacts of mass media, of unemployment, of family crises, has confirmed this generalization many times over. At this point, we want to focus upon a specific mode of this interplay between the stimulus and the system upon which it impinges, that is, its circular and cumulative character.

To illustrate, students who suffered a loss of self-esteem as a result of disappointing performance in an intended major often become dejected and passive. This, in turn, so immobilized some freshmen that they failed to avail themselves of the resources the college provided to assist them. One student, with special vulnerability to failure, found some excuse not to accept a professor's offer to work with her -- this leading to further withdrawal from academic challenges. By contrast, students whose performance was more congruent with their aspirations, tended to become more purposeful in utilizing resources of the college, e.g., seeking contacts with professors outside of the classroom. The rewards thus obtained, in turn, led to greater motivation to define and pursue occupational goals.

Again, freshmen with traditional gender orientations tended to stay away from activities sponsored by the feminist Women's Center.

Instead, they sought out congenial, equally traditional social cliques which, in turn, served to insulate them still further from the dominant feminist ethos of the college. On the other hand, even a moderate interest in women's issues made other students open to an invitation of a concerned classmate to attend some meeting. Such initial exposure was, for some students, the first step toward a serious engagement with the feminist cause.

These circular and cumulative processes would lead us to expect that, with regard to some dependent variables (which remain to be specified) a wider variability exists among seniors than in the entering class. The minor differences among freshmen widen with each successive year. It is by virtue of these processes that the "common" college experience may result in increasing the differentiation, rather than the homogeneity, of the student body.

These observations are not meant to imply that college impacts are, in general, limited exclusively to reinforcing rather than modifying the predispositions freshmen bring with them as they enter college. We have cited in the foregoing pages enough evidence of radical changes in the students during the first year of college to belie such a one-sided emphasis.

The significant role of parents in the occupational decision-making is apparent even prior to the systematic and quantitative analysis projected for the third wave of the study in Spring of 1982. Some selected insights derived from case studies will serve as illustrations.

Mothers, even beloved mothers, occasionally served as negative role models for their daughters. Sometimes a housewife mother,

disappointed in her life, would herself urge her daughter to follow a different course, e.g., marry later, establish herself in some secure occupation, even forego having children.

The struggle for emancipation from parental authority, when it coincided with the first year of college, was associated with instability of choices. It propelled some students into unsuitable choices, merely as an act of rebellion against parental wishes. It forced some overdependent daughters into lukewarm overt conformity coupled with poor performance as a sabotage against parental aspirations. It is no accident, we believe, that steadfast students have testified to exceptionally satisfactory relationships with parents, with no evidence of either excessive dependency or a period of struggle for independence.

Not that parents invariably espoused a set of congruent values bearing upon work. Apart from possible cross-pressures impinging from the family, on the one hand, and the college, on the other, the daughters had to cope with parental ambivalence: college is the time for a broad liberal education but what possible practical value can this major have; define your personal interests but be sure to find a well-paying occupation; aim high and follow a prestigious career but don't neglect social life and don't delay marriage.

Parental and, perhaps especially, paternal aspirations for the daughter appear to be influenced by her abilities relative to those of her siblings. We have repeatedly encountered fathers, especially from lower socio-economic classes, whose basically traditional views of women were overriden by opposing drives. When the student in question excelled in school, unlike her brothers, and was the only offspring to have the

potential for success, these traditional fathers encouraged their daughters to become lawyers, doctors, engineers, etc., staking upon their daughter's success all the yearnings for upward mobility that they cherished for their children.

The struggle for independence from the family, when it was a salient developmental change, operated, as did some other personal changes, to drain attention and psychic energy away from the search for occupational goals. Some students, who had no dating experience in high school, were able, for all their yearning for social life, to concentrate on their studies and find compensatory rewards in academic achievement. But others, who felt immature by comparison with their peers, plunged into social life with zeal. Whatever the outcome of their determined effort to "catch up," their preoccupations diverted them from the planning for their future jobs.

The culture shock experienced by some sheltered students, confronted by different and conflicting values, was another developmental change in the first year of college that occasionally overshadowed the concern with future goals.

Unlike check-lists, the interview can often distinguish between a perfunctory reference to some accepted value, on the one hand, and a deeply felt moral sentiment, on the other, as well as conflicts between one or more among competing values.

2. The circumstances or events that a) reinforced or b) changed the student's perception of some attribute of a given occupation ("I took a course in economics and realized that the subject was too dry and boring"; "I worked in a day nursery and found that pesty little kids can be really fascinating," etc.).

Similarly we shall examine circumstances and events that served to reinforce or to modify the ranking of values in terms of which occupational attributes were assessed.

Chapter 6

Chapter 4. Social and Sexual Relationships with Men: Gender Roles in Transition, Part I

Outline

Male Pressure for "Casual Sex"

A Status-Set Conflict

Dating Rituals in Flux

- The first move.
- Who pays.
- Symbolic significance of money.

Conflicts with Traditional Boyfriends

- "I refuse to be an appendage to a man."
- Intellectual rivalry.
- Longing for a sensitive man.

Intrapsychic Conflicts

- "I am attracted to old-fashioned guys who don't support my feminist ideals."
- Other ambivalences.

Social and Sexual Relationships with Men: Gender Roles in Transition, Part I.

Relationships with men in this and the following chapter are analyzed for the light they throw on role strains, more specifically, those linked to current social changes in gender orientations. Hence, a caveat is in order. If relationships with men appear too problem-ridden, an unrelieved portrayal of pain and friction, it is because the aim was precisely to uncover the disturbed aspects of these encounters. Some balance is provided as we attempt to discern conditions which exacerbated and, conversely, alleviated particular types of strain.

Since role strains are difficulties in fulfilling roles, the study attempted to discover the normative scripts underlying the intersexual interaction of this particular sample of college youth. The analysis sought to distinguish ideal, as contrasted with "operative" values and norms, as well as standard forms of behavior that are not directly called for by social norms but are unintended by-products of some conjunction of normative and social structural factors. This is the background against which the interpretations of strains are presented.

Female and male undergraduates interact in various statuses, as classmates, club members, in musical and dramatic societies, on athletic teams. Their purely social relationships are further subdivided into various categories. Dating and romantic partners, for example, differ from "just friends". The latter appear to adhere to more egalitarian norms than those governing the early stages of a romantic involvement. Among "just friends," women are more likely to pay their share of expenses for joint activities, feel freer to take the initiative in calling their male friends, perhaps

also in asserting themselves and in self-disclosure, all as contrasted with the early stages of dating behavior. These normative differences, in fact, created problems for some egalitarian women on first dates: "If I offer to pay, would this convey a misleading signal that I have no romantic interest in the guy?"

This and the next chapter treat social and sexual relationships with men. Since other statuses impinge upon or reflect strictly social interaction, we shall examine this interplay as it creates status set conflicts and their related coping strategies.

The great majority of interviewed students felt that the campus did not provide sufficient opportunities for meeting the male undergraduates of the coordinate college. Since the women's and the men's colleges are adjacent, some dormitories are coed, and cross-registration makes many classes virtually coeducational, the refrain about the difficulty of meeting men appears, at first glance, puzzling. Granted that the freshmen, as we saw in Chapter 2, complained also about the coldness and impersonality of the women's college. Moreover, by the middle of the sophomore year, many women, in fact, participated in social relationships with men of varying degrees of intimacy, adjustment, and duration. All the same, dissatisfaction with social life was prevalent. Even the satisfied small minority admitted, in the words of one student:

> "You really have to make an active effort to meet men here. There aren't many opportunities where men and women come together. In classes you don't talk to the men very much, and after class you just leave and they leave. You have to make a real effort to talk to people, to stop them after class, and you can't be shy. You have to put yourself on the line and you have to take risks. If you're shy or somewhat backward, you're not going to meet men here. There's a lot of pressure here

> to be popular with men, or at least to have dates for the weekend. I was more successful than my suitemates because I had been taught to smile, to be friendly, and outgoing."

We suspected that what students described as the dearth of opportunities to meet men had in reality other causes. As the interviews progressed, the students themselves bore witness to another interpretation. The problem was less one of literally meeting men than of establishing mutually satisfactory relationships in this period of changing gender roles.

We shall turn to these problems.

Male Pressure for "Casual Sex"

One frequently mentioned barrier to social life was male pressure for sex on first or second date, "casual sex."

A freshman was confronted with this problem on her second day of college. She described the still vivid memory:

> "A guy came over to me during Freshman Orientation and we clicked at once. I fell for him and we spent three days and evenings together. Beginning with the second day he started to pressure me to hop into bed. I tried to explain that I was a virgin and that this was too soon. "I understand," he'd say: "But you are 17 years old, you can't be a virgin all your life, it's time to grow up." After four days he dropped me. Just like that I cried for several days. He said how much he cared for me, that he loved me and I believed him. I guess he was on a big ego trip."

In the words of another dissatisfied student:

> "Social life with the Eastern College guys is pitiful. The guys are basically interested in just one thing -- sex, unless they are 'nerds' and 'jerks' who just study and are altogether incapable of socializing. As far as I'm concerned, the guys who are just out to sleep with the woman can go to the moon."

A similar grievance was expressed by another student:

> Some girls go to the two pubs on the campus to meet men, but those are just 'meat markets.' The pubs attract guys who are into drinking and into the macho image and who are

> out for one thing -- sex. If they walk you home, they think they've done you such a favor that you can't get rid of them."

Another student describes her first evening with a male undergraduate whom she met at the campus pub.

> After some dancing, he told her that he wanted her to go back to his room with him and meet his roommate, but as soon as he got there the roommate left. Then he turned on the music and started dancing and trying to get her into bed. She told him that she was a prude, that a kiss on the first date was about all that she was used to. She confessed she was exaggerating a bit

> in order to stop him. But "He couldn't believe that his charm was not enough for me to go lie on the floor for him. He was telling me that I'm 19 years old and it's time I did something about it." She stopped seeing him soon thereafter.

Women's greater sexual permissiveness in recent years presents a new problem to the young man whose seduction strategem has failed. He cannot, as easily as in the past, refer the failure to the norm of chastity but must experience some sense of inadequacy or rejection. A salve to the hurt ego is questioning the woman about her possible sexual hangups or lesbianism. Such inquiries by frustrated young men were not uncommon.

One interviewed sophomore shared the feeling of her female classmates that Eastern College males were under greater pressure to lose their virginity than was true for women. Although she has had sexual experiences, she wouldn't tolerate being pressured by a man because of his own ego needs. She ended abruptly her contacts with an obnoxious college man who wanted her to jump into bed on their second date. Some men have the reputation of being "one nighters". She was invited by one Eastern College jock and was about to accept when she was warned by two girlfriends that that guy was interested in a one-night stand and then he'd never call her again. She refused his invitation.

The male pressure for sex upon the first encounter or soon thereafter would not be so pervasive were it not occasionally successful. But despite the increase in sexual permissiveness of young women, as discussed in the next chapter, the interviewed women were still more likely than male undergraduates to reject "casual sex" and, upon their own testimony, more eager for friendship with men, either as an end in itself, or as a condition for eventual physical intimacy. Several sophomores observed ruefully

that it was only after they acquired a "steady" and were recognized as a couple that they also succeeded in having close male friends who accepted the limits that "just friendship" imposed.

The male undergraduates were accused of exploitative sexual behavior but, occasionally, the exploitation was alleged to be wider in scope. A few students felt that the pseudo-sophisticated stance, "I am out to experience life" is a cover for using women. A female sophomore speaks:

> "On the whole my impression of the Eastern College men is very poor. Their philosophy that life is a series of experiences masks a self-centered, self-involved use of others to further their own ends. Perhaps they are still immature. But I believe that women in general are readier to give something of themselves in a relationship even as they try to receive something in return. I know this is true of me."

The repeated grievances that male insistence on sexual relations frustrated the longing for friendship require two qualifications. A few freshmen, whose high schools were characterized by sexual permissiveness, traditional male dominance, and lower intellectual and cultural standards, faced a different problem of adjustment to this College. Among this handful of students one describes her surprising discoveries:

> "Eastern College men treat women as equals. They are really pretty liberated. In my high school a one-to-one relationship implied sex and the guys sort of dominated. At College here, it's more of a dating scene, you're not obliged to have sex, it's more equal. Here, if a guy calls, I can honestly say, I have to study and give him a rain check. In high school, if you give a guy a rain check, that's it, he won't see you anymore."

During the first semester of College she met a guy in a class. They would sit on the steps, smoke pot, and talk. But he was more into school activities, more liberated: "I wasn't ready for it in my freshman year. If I had met him this year, we would have had more in common."

There was another and a more significant exception to the grievances

of the majority that their longing for male friendship with men were unfulfilled. Some religious cliques, members of which, both female and male, upheld the ideal of premarital chastity, enjoyed a lively social life from the outset. One religious Jewish freshman described her close clique as consisting of four girls and five guys who ate together and participated in joint weekend activities. She "felt very comfortable with the guys, they were very good friends." In fact, she and another girl went on a ski trip with four guys, with full approval of her parents. If romantic relationships develop, she explained, a couple may "make-out," but both sexes believe that "intercourse should be between married people."

Whatever changes these religious students may undergo in college, their stricter moral code, somewhat paradoxically, contributed to an exceptionally active companionship with male classmates during the first year of college.

If campus pubs failed in some cases to provide opportunities for the desired male companionship, some joint extracurricular activities were occasionally equally unfruitful. Two women athletes gave a perceptive analysis of barriers to social life with male athletes.

Athletes: A Status-Set Conflict

The women athletes were swimmers and divers who trained together with men in the same pool and gym.

> Long daily training sessions generate a sense of mutual respect. Male athletes are generally superior to women. They can afford, therefore, to watch sympathetically the women's interaction with the coach and applaud their progress and dedication. The intercollegiate meets enhance the sense of solidarity and each team feels a genuine satisfaction in the success of the others vis-a-vis other colleges.
>
> Both males and females, not incidentally, train in situations where they can observe and admire each other's bodies.

This account would appear to describe a setting in which cross-sex friendships and romances would develop. This expectation, our informants assured us, is belied by some countervailing factors.

The "jocks" are generally traditional males expected to play "macho" roles vis-a-vis women in social contacts. They know exactly how to act in partying with "groupies," girls, some from other city colleges, who adulate athletes. The men flirt with the "chicks," strut, tease, and try (frequently successfully) to "make" the female companion of the evening.

These familiar partying strategies do not play well in relationships with women athletes from the coordinate college. "Hi, chick" would be too contemptuous and impersonal an approach. The easy male superiority

established in athletic activities does not necessarily extend to intellectual abilities, cultivated tastes, sophistication which come into play in social relationships away from the gym and the pool. Women athletes, unlike male athletes, may, if anything, be less stereotypically traditional and more competitive than the average female student. The women themselves are confused, being attracted by the physical attributes of the men and, at the same time, repulsed by their "macho" attitudes evidenced at social occasions.

This was the explanation, offered by some interviewed women athletes, of the difficulty of establishing social relationships with men whom they see daily in long training sessions.

Men and women can be classmates, coworkers, club members, and also form mutual romantic relationships provided they can play roles appropriate to each social context. But this flexible shifting of roles was excluded in this case because the roles linked to the different statuses were not only distinctive but contradictory. The colleagueship on the team contrasted so sharply with the somewhat contemptuous and exploitative attitudes towards the partying "chicks" that the strict separation between the two sets of role partners offered the easiest way out. If this appears to bear some resemblance to the familiar division between "good" and "bad" girls, the analogy breaks down because the "good" girls, the women athletes, may have a permissive sexual code in relationships with other men.

Dating Rituals in Flux

We shall encounter in this section some modes of role strain both similar to and differing from those discussed elsewhere in this chapter.

Among the latter are problems caused by ambiguity about norms governing social interaction and the consequent need to "play it by ear". An operational index of this anomie would be a high proportion of "don't know" in response to a question as to appropriate behavior, as well as a wide scatter of responses with a low moral commitment to any.

The first move. Even the feminist freshmen and sophomores who condemned the male prerogative of initiating a dating relationship as still another symbol of patriarchy, hesitated to violate this norm. We are referring literally to the first move. In subsequent interaction, and certainly in established relationships, women and men appeared equally free to contact the other, modified in either direction by struggle for power or degree of individual involvement.

A self-assured and gregarious sophomore felt that, unlike most of the women she met at college, she didn't think it was wrong to call up a guy and was rewarded by positive reactions of the men. Significantly, she added: "But, of course, I would never call up anyone I had just met."

The strongest sanction against violating the male prerogative of the first move was the male interpretation of such initiative as a sexual come-on. Men described such aggressive women as "sluts". Indignant as the women were at this inference, they hesitated to expose themselves to the risks, unless they were among the very few who did so with full knowledge of the implications.

Some women learned their lesson through trial and error. A freshman who eagerly anticipated intellectual exchanges with male as well as female classmates came sadly to the conclusion that the men she went out with were interested solely in her body. She recounted her first experience:

> "There was this one guy in my history class who was really bright. He used to make brilliant comments in class and I wanted to get to know him so I could talk to him about history. So I approached him and asked him whether he would like to go out for a cup of coffee. My intention was to talk about the lecture, but when we sat down, all he wanted to talk about was how I felt about sex, and when we could go out on a date. I kept telling him that sex wasn't the reason I asked him out. I was trying to be honest and straightforward with him, but he just wouldn't believe it. He thought that the reason I asked him out for a cup of coffee was a sexual come-on. I never asked another guy out on a date."

Deprived of the right of initiatives, a woman attracted to a man might resort to active but indirect tactics of frequenting places where she would be likely to meet him or persuading a disinterested suitemate, who had also met the man, to invite him to a party.

Some strong feminists berated themselves for their timidity and the failure to live up to their egalitarian ideals.

> "There is this guy," wrote a student in her journal, "whom I find incredibly attractive but I cannot speak to him. I don't know if it's fear of rejection, or fear of being perceived as too forward, or, most likely, a combination of the two. In any case, I feel incredibly stupid. I know that one day I will look back on this and hate myself for it, but something inside keeps stopping me."

Who pays. There were many well-established relationships in which expenses were shared or otherwise regulated without causing any conflict whatsoever. On the other hand, the payment for joint activities was mentioned in the interviews as a source of embarrassment often enough to warrant its inclusion as another example of anomie.

Some women, intent on pleasing a new male acquaintance, confessed their puzzlement: "Will he be put off if I offer to pay my share or does he expect it?" Others had strong feelings, either traditional or egalitarian,

only to be confronted by the indignation or mockery of a male companion.

Defraying the expenses of a date conferred power upon the male but, with changing customs, many undergraduates apparently found compensating advantages in the emerging custom of sharing the costs. This was all the more understandable when a man embraced those egalitarian innovations that served his self-interest while still clinging to traditional male advantages. A woman describes just such ethical inconsistencies:

> "I expect a man to pay for me the first several times we go out, but this one guy would make fun of me. 'What kind of an independent woman are you? You don't even offer to share the expense?'" But she had other grievances against him. He never asked her what she wanted to do. He would come over and tell her that they were going to a poetry reading or to a museum, whether she was interested in his plan or not. She went along with him, but she acted sullen and he would get angry and ask her what was the matter. She would tell him and then he would get sullen and stop talking. Finally, she got so fed up with his treatment of her that she ended the relationship.

Another student felt that her former boyfriend was both cheap and a hypocrite. He was not above taking advantage of her by always expecting her to share expenses. At the same time, he wouldn't allow her to call the waiter for a bill or to give her share of the money openly.

Another aspect of restaurant behavior was also ambiguous. A student who was working part-time as a waitress made fun of some traditional couples:

> "It really annoys me when the guy gives the order for both of them and the girl just sits there. This happened last week. He knew what she wanted, but he kept messing up the order. He was going, 'Scrambled eggs, right?' and she'd answer (almost in a whisper), 'Yes, with bacon.' and he would turn to me and say, 'And with bacon.' She was telling him instead of telling me and I was thinking, 'Oh come on, what are you, some little wimp?'"

Symbolic significance of money. Adding to the uncertainty or conflict about sharing expenses was the symbolic significance of money in defining new relationships as "just friendship" or dating. "It's somewhat ambiguous," declared one sophomore:

> "If you go out with a guy and you pay for your own dinner, you don't really know whether you're on a date with him or whether you're just going out as friends. I prefer the guy to pay on the first or second date because that sets up a dating relationship."

She gave the following example of what, she hoped, might be the start of a dating relationship:

> "Some guys, friends of mine, were going out to the movies. There was one guy in the group that I was interested in. I stayed with him all evening and when we got to the movie theatre I stood right next to him. He looked at me and I looked at him and he said, 'My treat.' I said, 'Don't be ridiculous, I'll pay for myself.' And he said, 'No, if you're with me tonight then I'll pay for you.'"

The familiar cues are misleading. There are other illustrations of problems that stem from diversity of norms. A freshman who came from a provincial high school that combined more permissive sexual norms with more traditional gender roles describes her confusion :

> "I was really shocked by this guys liberated attitudes (towards women), it posed real worries for me. I thought 'If he's offering me a joint, why isn't he kissing me? Doesn't he like me, if he doesn't kiss me, if he doesn't attack me?' In high school offering a joint was a pick-up line."

This student concluded perceptively: "It was a question of getting readjusted to new cues."

Conflict with Traditional Boyfriends

A student complained: "My boyfriend is always asking me: 'So what are you going to do with your life after you graduate?' I am telling him that I don't exactly know. I may want to go into the field of psychology. He is constantly pressuring me about this and it annoys me."

It is not surprising that cases in which it is the boyfriend who is the "feminist" of the couple are rare. Much more prevalent are clashes between more traditional males and their girlfriend's new egalitarianism. In a subsequent section we shall depict another variety of stress caused by intrapsychic conflicts.

The role conflicts between traditional men and egalitarian women in a number of cases contributed to the termination of the relationship, at other times they were chronic stresses of couples held together by other ties.

We shall begin with cases in which the clash of role expectations was virtually all-embracing, with the boyfriend wishing to play the stereotypically masculine role in all of its aspects and an increasingly rebellious girlfriend. Other couples will illustrate some more limited lack of complementarity in gender oriendations.

In each of the two introductory cases, the relationship began early in high school and ended after the young woman's first year of college, as a result of changes in her attitudes. The stages and the processes of her development are illuminated in the interviews.

"I refuse to be an appendage to a man." A college sophomore described several stages in a relationship that began in high school and broke up three and a half years later after the girl's first year of college. In her own words, nearly all through high school, she had a crush on a very sexy and handsome guy, one year her senior. As she developed, she began to see him and herself in a new light and to recognize how irreconcilable their mutual expectations became.

The case illustrates a young woman's increasing striving for equality. Specifically this entailed her growing refusal to subordinate, as a matter of course, her occupational plans to those of her boyfriend; a heightened importance attached to studying and other activities to further her own goals, even when these conflicted with his convenience; and a demand to be taken more seriously in intellectual discussions.

This awakening came gradually in the course of the first year of college:

> He showed not the slightest interest in her aspirations. When she expressed her belief that men and women needed to achieve equality both in mutual commitment, as well as

> in commitment to careers, J. said: "Well, I'll be willing to listen to whatever positive plan you have." But she recognized his complete indifference to her ambitions. When she tried to work it out with him, he just said, "That's the way things are."
>
> Her frustrations weren't limited to J.'s lack of interest in her life plans. He was, she felt, always trying to get control of their relationship: "When people were asking me questions, he'd cut me off or finish the sentence for me." When she tried to tell him something that interested her in a course he would remind her that he'd already covered those subjects. Once they went to a conference of a youth organization to which both of them belonged. J. was chairman of a section and he explained to her that it would be inappropriate for her to speak from the floor but he would be willing to convey whatever she had in mind. "He had a very chauvinistic attitude towards women and he made me feel like an appendage to him."
>
> As she ended this relationship, she began to wonder whether she'd ever find a man able to empathize with the woman's need for some autonomy, as well as for tenderness and understanding.

This woman ended her account perceptively. "My sharpened feminist vision led to our breakup." More or less consciously she found herself rebelling against the view that the ideal woman, unlike the man, finds her basic fulfillment in a personal relationship. This notion merely provides an ideological rationale for male dominance, because the woman's concessions to the man can then be rationalized as the quid pro quo in the unique rewards she derives from the association. By contrast, the man, because he is expected to find fulfillment also in other roles, can expect her to make the necessary adjustments to his interests.

The next case illuminates in greater detail the process of alienation in a relationship with a high-school steady boyfriend. The couple broke up in the middle of the girl's sophomore year at college. She traced

in the interview her change from being "a little girl," who molded herself to fit the boy's traditional ideal of femininity as well as his special emotional needs. In retrospect, she recognizes that "in the back of my mind I think I always wanted to do something with my life, I wanted a career." But it was desperately important for her self-esteem to have a steady boyfriend. She must have known that to tell him the truth would have been to anger him. He would have said: "You don't love me. Why are we going steady? I'll just find someone else who wants to marry me and be a good wife." The case describes the early phase of the relationship as well as the process of change.

> The student recalls her "little girl" role in high school. She asked her boyfriend's advice about everything, her clothes, her make-up, her hairdo. He was thrilled by her dependence: "He would plan our life for us, marriage when we graduated from college, a nice house, and two children. I used to go along and say I could hardly wait. Maybe I really felt that way in high school, but I suspect I needed the security of a steady boyfriend. I was afraid to be without a man."

This woman traced in the interview her change from the "little girl" into a more independent and self-confident woman in the course of which she would no longer tolerate her latent dissatisfaction and she would see more clearly her boyfriend's shortcomings.

> As both entered college, she an Ivy League school and he a public institution, new problems emerged. He began to feel that he wasn't as bright as she and felt intimidated and resentful of her intellectual superiority. Whenever she tried to get into an in-depth conversation with him he would make fun of her by saying, "Well, I know you have brains and you don't have to prove it to me all the time. Why don't you just talk like a normal human being? Why are you trying to show me how superior you are?" He was also very traditional in his attitudes towards women. When they went out, he would go through all the correct behavior, not out of consideration, but because he figured that's the way men should act. For example, when they

> went out to a restaurant he would order, often without consulting her about what she wanted to eat. That must have made him feel very suave and sophisticated, but it placed her in the role of the dummy. She reported the following incident: "One time I wanted to hear this concert. D. didn't want to go but he went through the motions of asking me what I wanted to do. I repeated that I wanted to go to the concert. He got out the newspaper and found the times and place for a movie he wanted to see and told me that we were going to the movie. I got very annoyed and told him that I din't want to go out at all and he said that if I didn't want to go to the movie, then we would just stay home. I didn't want to stay home, so we wound up going to the movies. I didn't fight with him very often because he got very defensive."
>
> Another problem with the relationship was that D. tried to interfere with her work. During finals he would call her up and try and pick a fight with her so she'd be too upset to do well in her finals. She said he called her three or four times during finals week and just found little things to pick fights about. She knew that the fights weren't significant and that it was D.'s way of making sure that she didn't do well on her finals.

The most significant effect of her freshman year of college was a growing self-confidence and the realization that she could be a person on her own and didn't have to have a boyfriend in order to be a complete human being. She attributes this change to the independent attitudes of women she met at college. Her two best friends served as living examples that a woman can be happy, enjoy life and self-respect without a steady boyfriend. These girls were sociable but selective and they didn't fall apart if they didn't have a boyfriend for several weeks or months. They wanted to have boyfriends to share a good relationship, but they were not desperate and didn't feel humiliated by a lull in their social life.

Her boyfriend was very upset about the changes in her personality. He kept telling her, "What happened to my little girl? You're not my

little girl anymore. You don't need me. You don't depend on me."

She felt that she was able to end this unsatisfactory relationship precisely because she was not so security minded and felt she could make it on her own.

Her newly found self-confidence was reflected also upon her return home during the Christmas holiday when she found herself able to participate in the discussions with her relatives in an adult way.

The break with her high school boyfriend was inevitable, but the pain and anxiety were eased by a new relationship with a male classmate who had all the qualities she missed in her first love. This is her happy account of the new relationship:

> A. is very interested in her studies and talks to her about them. He is completely supportive of her desire to have a career. They are able to study together. During finals they were often together studying or just being quiet with one another. A. didn't try and tear her down or make her feel bad while she was taking exams. Rather he would try to comfort her if she was having trouble in one of her classes. She said that A. is very intelligent and they have in-depth conversations and he helps her to probe into intellectual arguments. She said she's grown a lot more intellectual with A., that she can have an intelligent interchange with him and not feel that he's intimidated by her intelligence. He doesn't want her to act dumb. A. said that would bother him, if she tried to play down her intelligence, that he wants her to grow intellectually and he wants them to grow together as well. Their relationship continues to grow and she's very happy with A. She hasn't told A. that she loves him because at this point she doesn't know what love is. She said because her relationship with D. was so destructive, she's very loathe to tell someone else that she loves him until she's absolutely sure that that's the person she wants to spend her life with. She said that A. doesn't pressure her at all to tell him that she loves him, that he's happy with the relationship as it is and that he allows her a certain amount of freedom. Neither of them is seeing anyone else, but she knows that A. wouldn't desert her if she wanted to see someone else.

> She feels a lot freer and more independent since she broke up with J.

Two relationships of shorter duration were strained and terminated by similar conflicts with traditional men.

> A college freshman set on becoming a doctor met a Naval Academy student who was "smart and cute and funny" and appeared to be equally attracted to her. She soon realized, however, that he was not at all supportive of her hope to combine marriage with a medical career. He would get very angry when her need to study would occasionally interfere with their social plans, trying to convince her that she was wasting her time on an unrealistic ambition. She, in turn, would be infuriated by his attitude.
>
> She remembered an incident that finally revealed to her the abyss separating them. They were dining with an engaged couple and the girl was talking about how she couldn't wait to get married and have kids and be a mother and her boyfriend turned and poked her and said, "You hear that?" She just groaned. Her boyfriend just couldn't understand why she didn't feel that way too. That was pretty much the end of the relationship and soon after that she broke up with him. "That's when I had the feeling, forget it. I can't deal with this."

A conflict over "male chauvinism" broke up a relationship that lasted a year and a half. The woman found much to admire in her boyfriend -- his honesty and openness. But, with all his understanding, he could not accept her commitment to a career. He felt it was a "slight to their relationship". The break came when she discussed the opportunity to take her junior year abroad. She would argue: "Listen, I love you, but I have things in life I want to do, things like an education and a career are important to me." "We had a lot of arguments over it and I just got sick of it."

She concluded that guys tend to have an old-fashioned picture of women. She would be willing to lean back, but she would never marry a guy who would want her to give up her career once she had a family.

So far we have cited male friends and lovers who were so much more traditional than the women in all aspects of their gender orientations that the relationship eventually dissolved.

But similar problems sometimes plagued ongoing affairs. If they endured it was because they were less extreme, more limited in scope, or offset by compensating ties, if only the fear of loneliness.

Finally, "male chauvinism" was the reason given for terminating association at very early stages of an acquaintance. One student was attracted to a man in one of her classes. She was soon turned off by his chauvinistic attitude towards women. Talking about his girlfriend, he said: "Well, she's a really cutelittle piece of fluff." "I got disgusted and said that he could hardly care about a girlfriend if he thought of her as 'a piece of fluff'." Well," he went on, "she's very decorative and also very good in bed." "I couldn't wait until he left," she concluded: "I run into him occasionally, but I no longer feel attracted to him."

Male reactions to the women's struggle for "personhood" are known to us only through the women's testimony. Mutual accusations and defensive counter charges are rife, as we shall illustrate on pp. . An interviewed sophomore reported that the suitemates of her boyfriend talk about the women's college "in a very derogatory fashion. They say we are snooty, sophisticated, motivated, driven women who really care more about themselves than about relationships with men." Her own boyfriend is more understanding, but he, too, holds that these women give men a hard time. Some women are soft and feminine at one time, but career-driven at other times, putting down men as oppressors. In his view it is the women's

confusion that is the root of the problem.

Intellectual rivalry between the sexes. The women, as discussed on pp. , perceived the climate of the college as excessively competitive. Students allegedly measured their own performance against that of classmates. When self-esteem is based on such comparative ranking, one does not always wish one's rival well. Competition for entrance to professional schools added a pragmatic ground for rivalry.

In the past, competition between the sexes was minimized by stricter differentiation of roles. Women might be superior to men in empathy or other expressive qualities, men might excell in reasoning ability without arousing defensiveness in either sex. They competed for different rewards and measured their worth by different standards. We may assume that competition within each sex was greater than that between the sexes.

No one could expect that the male and female undergraduates of the two colleges could today be free of some degree of intellectual rivalry. The only open question is two-fold: First, do men or both sexes still expect that men should enjoy a clear margin of intellectual superiority, so that mere equality is a defeat for him? Secondly, are women more likely than men to play down their abilities in the face of intellectual differences?

We shall cite some illustrations of survivals of both phenomena, of some expectation that the male should be the one to enjoy a margin of intellectual superiority, if differences exist, and that women are more likely than men in sensitive situations to play down their abilities.

These issues were not probed systematically in every interview. We shall cite some illustrations, but the lack of spontaneous references

suggests that for the sample as a whole these were not problems of great urgency.

The sophomores testify:

> One student felt that she had gained enough self-confidence over the year to feel freer to argue with the men in her classes. Then she added a qualification: "I would argue less strongly if I were interested in the guy socially. You can't be adamant if you expect to be asked out."
>
> Still another sophomore called her boyfriend feminist in his attitudes but less so in his behavior. He was raised in a traditional home and expects some traditional behavior from women. For example, he expects her not to talk too much when he's talking to his friends and, certainly, to support his views. He becomes upset if she argues against his views in front of his male friends.

A freshman was disappointed in lack of intellectual interchange with male undergraduates. She gave an illustration:

> Visiting a male acquaintance, she saw a copy of Ulysses on his desk, a book she'd just read. She wanted to know what he thought of it but he cut off this conversation by changing the subject.

Whatever the stereotype of sex differences in intellectual abilities, there was, among most women, a strong admiration for those who stood their ground in discussions with men and disdain for women who "played dumb".

> "Last year," recollected a sophomore, "there was this one woman on the floor who was terribly competitive with other women about her marks and her intelligence. Then I saw her with her boyfriend and she acted like a twelve-year-old. She kept looking at him in an adoring manner and saying, 'Oh, you're so bright! I never would have thought of that.' I was infuriated by her playing this game. I would rather see women compete as ferociously as they do at this college than act stupid."
>
> "Perhaps," she added as an afterthought, "women are not totally at fault. A lot of the Eastern College men I met are not all that secure about their intelligence and want a woman who acts less intelligent than they are."

The educational and intellectual differences between one sophomore and the boyfriend she intended to marry presented a major problem in this relationship.

> The young man went to work in his father's business after finishing high school. They "complement each other" and are very happy except for this educational difference. She wishes he had a larger vocabulary and spoke more correctly, and they had lots of fights over it. It got to the point where he said: "Either you accept me the way I am or you don't. You'll have to make your decision."

For our purposes the significance of this case lies in her final statement, "I still think it would be more acceptable if the wife were not as intelligent as her husband than the other way round. That's probably why I'm so defensive about it."

We shall return to the theme of intellectual rivalry in the concluding section of this chapter. The recurrent mutual accusations in what we have termed the mythology of the battle of the sexes suggest greater tension than is apparent in accounts of personal relationships. Possibly, a certain trial and error brought together couples who were congenial or able to cope with this issue of intellectual rivalry.

The longing for a sensitive man. The young women's longing for psychological intimacy with men is evidenced in their depiction of "My Ideal Man" (see pp.). Filling out the Adjective Check List, "warm" and "sensitive" were each included as a desired attribute by some 85 per cent of the sample. The interviews corroborated this finding because some conflicts in intersexual relationships were precisely over this issue. The typical idiom of youth, e.g. "he is into macho" or "he is into sensitivity" reflects the awareness of the problem. All the same, it is the women who press for sensitivity and the men who are on the defensive.

When the boyfriend of one of our freshman respondents looked over her Adjective Check List for "My Ideal Man," he was incredulous: "But you described a woman, not a man." In the ensuing discussion, she accused him of not listening well and not revealing his own feelings. The boyfriend was indignant: "Well, what you apparently want is a sister, not a man."

Another student described a relationship dating back to the eighth grade when the boy first told her he had a crush on her. At one point throughout the vicissitudes of their long association they even talked about spending their lives together. This relationship was virtually over by the middle of the woman's sophomore year.

> In retrospect the girl sees her boyfriend as a good looking, tough, athletic man, still sexually attractive to her but utterly closed up and uncomfortable communicating his own feelings or listening to her open talk.
>
> Interestingly enough, this student accepted her boyfriend's shortcomings until her freshman year at college. Her two college girlfriends taught her by example what sharing of feelings and perceptions can be like. She became more open about herself and that was the kind of communication she now wants in relations with men. She recalled an incident that suddenly crystallized her dissatisfaction. She was telling him about the changes in her personality during the freshman year, explaining how differently she was perceiving things and people, her growing maturity. This, she felt, was a big transformation. Having talked for some time, she turned to him: "Well, what do you think about all this?" And he said: "Think about what?" "He wasn't even listening to what I was saying. He was day dreaming and not making any effort to know me."

The break up of a friendship by another freshman was attributed to the man's lack of sensitivity and understanding.

> In this case the woman explained that she was more involved in the relationship but faulted him for his failure to sense the depth of her attachment. In any event, the boyfriend would visit her often and they would have long phone talks about his problems.
>
> The break came when she called him in a very troubled state because her family was giving her a hard time. She was telling him about her childhood and her relationships with her family. She had been talking to him for some half an hour (such lengthy exchanges were not unusual for them) when she stopped, realizing that he hadn't responded. "Oh, are you finished?" he asked. "O.k. I Have to do my chemistry homework now."
>
> "I felt extremely exposed and hurt," concluded the student. "Whatever his feelings were for me, he should have been more considerate and understanding."

We shall return to this woman in the section on ambivalence. Having become wary of emotional involvement as a consequence of this disappointment, she was turned off from dating altogether until she met a very sensitive man who was willing to wait without pressuring her sexually or emotionally (see pp.).

Whether or not men can satisfy the women's desire for deeper psychological intimacy, they have become increasingly aware of it. One woman assured us that this awareness has entered the strategy of sexual seduction used by some men.

> She described an encounter with a male student during Freshman Orientation in the course of which he revealed much about himself, including his vulnerabilities and fears. After some four hours of talking she felt that they had a beginning of a good friendship which "might develop into something more." As he walked her to the dormitory, he began to make his pitch. He was looking for someone to sleep with "on a regular basis, not just a one-night stand." He was very persistent and it took some effort to get him to leave.

This young woman was sexually experienced and summed up the above encounter with this observation: "I think there is a definite trend away from macho men who try to impress the woman by showing that nothing

phases them. I have noticed that now many men when they want to seduce you think that they'll score the most points by being open to the point of revealing very personal feelings and even fears."

Intrapsychic Conflicts

The feminine role strains described so far represented two types. The more numerous were interpersonal conflicts between egalitarian women and their more traditional boyfriends. Anomie might be too extreme a designation of the second type, as illustrated in the shifting dating norms. But that mode of strain did stem from the absence of shared norms and the resulting confusion of an actor who had to "play it by ear" in a relatively unstructured encounter.

We turn now to a third mode of role strain, that is the intrapsychic conflicts in regard to gender roles. The idiosyncratic aspects of the women's personality may conflict with her own internalized ideal of

femininity. A militant feminist who is sexually excited by male sadism is an example of such stress. Another variety of intrapsychic conflicts stems from simultaneous allegiance to irreconcilable values, frequently elements both of traditional and of feminist ideologies. These are analytical distinctions which are likely to be fused in any personal experience, though some rare cases approximate one or another of these "ideal types" of intrapsychic strains.

"I am attracted to old-fashioned macho men who don't support my liberated ideals."

Several women confessed an exceptionally strong wish to be "protected" by a man. A problem arose when they were humiliated by the message of helplessness that such dependence on a man carried.

A clash between idiosyncratic emotional needs and internalized ideals took other forms. Some women were sexually and emotionally attracted to macho men "who take charge of things". But such men were not likely to support career ambitions or other egalitarian ideals that were also essential components of the woman's personality.

The following excerpts from interviews offer a fuller description of these strains.

> A sophomore who broke up with a boyfriend because he wanted a traditional wife, deprecated her preoccupation with studies, and opposed her aspirations to become a physician, described her predicament. "My friends are all guys who are really with it, who understand my ambitions, and yet the guys I find myself attracted to are old-fashioned." She likes guys who "take charge of things," who can be protective and come to her defense if necessary. Once at a party, some guy, drunk, started talking dirty to her. The man she was with hit him and told him to get out: "I like it when guys do that." Her former boyfriend said that if he could find the guy who made an obscene call to her, he'd break his neck. She got annoyed at this reversion

> to primitive macho ways that reduced her to a cave woman status. She'd like him to know that she can take care of herself. But part of her felt warm and protected to be taken care of.

This student reported that she resembled her mother in her dependency on male protectiveness. But she certainly wouldn't want to follow in her mother's footsteps in planning her own life. Her mother is a housewife who "was capable of so much more". The student aspires to a life-long career in medicine.

A somewaht similar problem was experienced by another student. She needed the security of a steady boyfriend because she had a terror of loneliness. At the same time, it was not easy to find men who shared her intellectual standards and supported her feminist ideals.

> "My experiences with Eastern College men were extremely disappointing. They treat women abominably." One man with whom she had a serious relationship in her freshman year, "allowed her to be herself" for the first few weeks but then began to put her down. Whenever she disagreed with him he'd mock her: "Well isn't that cute? You have such original ideas." The irony of it was that they were attracted to each other by their ability to analyze ideas. But he began to feel threatened by her and wished she were somewhat less intelligent and a bit softer.
>
> She fell very much in love with another man who gave the impression of being spontaneous and charming. Theirs was a painful affair. It was mostly sexual. He was afraid of emotional commitment. Besides, she eventually realized that he did not respect women. He in effect admitted he thought that women were merely appendages to enhance his image. He said to her that he would have nothing to do with a woman who wasn't good looking, that women had to enhance his image. The student said that he was very competitive with other men. She told the following story: "I hadn't seen L. for about a month. He called on a night when I had a date with someone else. I was still in love with L. so I broke my date to go out with him. I told L. about it. I said, 'I broke a date with somebody else just to go out with you.' L. was very proud about that. I later found out that he told the whole story to the guy I had a date with. I thought that was really disgusting behavior."

We have described intrapsychic conflicts of a particular variety. Women confessed to emotional dispositions that ran counter to their ideals either of themselves or of masculinity. As a result, they were humiliated by their own wishes in relation to men or despised in men the very traits they found attractive. As a rule, these involved an emotional attachment to traditional gender roles in women with liberal or egalitarian ideology.

Intrapsychic conflict did not always involve such a clash between the desired (traditionalism) and the desirable (egalitarianism). Another type is illustrated by a student who internalized a combination of traditional and feminist values that make future problems inevitable. For example, one feminist student's ego ideal contains many elements of traditional masculinity such as professional ambition, strong drive for achievement, and for economic affluence. "It's extremely important to me to have done something with my life. When I'm dead I don't want to be forgotten. I wouldn't mind being one of the few women in history books. I'd love it actually." This drive for success and achievement she admires in both men and women. Her boyfriend has it and, she thinks, is brighter than she.

Having modified traditional gender roles to the extent of demanding achievement of women, this student remains traditional in exempting men from domestic duties and a responsibility for child rearing. Although she wants children and fully realizes the importance of nurturance for young children, she explained that she could not have any respect for a man who wouldn't also, as she did, want to try to make his mark in the world. She is opposed to the idea of a man staying home to take care of the children: "I think it's a cop out, I would see him as a failure, as someone who just gave up."

This combination of values generates a great number of problems as to the timing of marriage and childbearing in relation to her career and ways of balancing career and child rearing. She and her boyfriend see these problems intellectually and though she feels "panicky" sometimes they, in her own words, "Handle the strain by not really facing up to their future problems and sometimes joking about them."

In a period of changing gender roles, it is understandable that both sexes would be inclined to claim the privileges of the traditional and the egalitarian roles, even if this imposes upon their partners a double dose of obligations. The case just described differs in that the young woman's values (rather than practical exigencies) imposed upon her a double dose of obligations. She was "modern" in her drive for personal achievement and "traditional" in her definition of the husband's role.

"A sensitive and considerate man became too emotionally dependent on me."

The student whose unhappy love for an insensitive man (see pp. 22-3), made her wary of any emotional involvement met a man to whom she explained at the outset that he could expect nothing but friendship.

> He was considerate, patient, a wonderful listener, and quite open about himself. They began to see each other frequently and he let her take her time without pressuring her sexually or emotionally.
>
> One day she told him that she felt their friendship might develop into something more. In her sophomore year they began an exclusive and steady relationship.
>
> When asked, she expressed some dissatisfaction with this affair. She felt K. way too dependent on her, too focused on the relationship to the exclusion of other possible relationships with male friends. He had no close friends at school. He is very sweet and shy and has a hard time reaching out to some of the more jock-like men at the college. Whenever K. was lonely or wanted to talk, he relied on her for support and for understanding. She felt guilty if she didn't really want to listen to him, to be his confidante when at times she might want to be alone or be with her friends. She felt that K. resented her other friends. He wasn't warm or open or friendly when they were around. He would withdraw and wait until they left and then be very warm and affectionate with her after they left. She wasn't sure whether he was jealous of her other friends or that he just wanted to spend the time alone with her.

The last case illustrates the dissatisfaction of the woman with the price she found she had to pay for the sensitivity and expressiveness of her patient boyfriend. He was, she felt, something of a deviant among the Eastern College guys and dependent upon her to the exclusion of other ties. His lack of self-sufficiency put great demands upon her time and required isolation from her own friends. She felt guilty when she could not be available to him. In sum, she began to wonder whether she will ever meet a man who combines sensitivity with a degree of self-sufficiency.

Chapter 7

Chapter 7. Social and Sexual Relationships with Men, continued

Outline

Dominant Sexual Norms

Pressures To Become Sexually Experienced

Countervailing Forces: Some Adjusted and Some Conflictful Virgins

Casual Sex: Deviance or Liberation

Enduring Relationships

Passing references to sexual attitudes were made in the preceding chapter. We turn now to values concerning sexuality, as well as, actual experiences of the interviewed sophomores. The sample cannot match in size or representativeness the recent surveys of incidence of premarital chastity of female undergraduates, numbers of sexual partners, or similar quantitative data. The interviews, however, have some compensating advantages. They shed light on the range of attitudes, sources of strain, and the impact of college.

The topic of sex was approached indirectly in the course of the discussion of the ethos of this college. The students were asked whether, in their view, the college could be characterized by some dominant values in several specified realms. This general question was followed by probing further, for example: "Who, in your opinion, would be more on the defensive on this campus, a student who looked forward to full-time homemaking (circumstances permitting) or a career-oriented woman?" On this issue, as was indicated in Chapter ___, the overwhelming majority perceived the homemaker to be very much on the defensive because the climate of opinion favored, nay demanded, achievement outside the home. In other realms a frequent response was that the college stood for tolerance of diversity, with each individual free to live by her own values.

As to sex, the interviewer raised a similar question: "Who, in your opinion, is more on the defensive in this college -- a virgin or sexually experienced student?"

Not an infrequent initial response to this question stressed the tolerance of diversity of sexual norms: "Sex is a personal decision.

Even in suites people don't tell you to lead a particular life-style. It is the attitude of 'live and let live.' No one is ostracized."

This tolerance appeared in itself an ideal value. Further probing uncovered the dominant ethic, the limits of tolerance, and considerable variations within the college community.

Dominant Sexual Norms

What emerged as the dominant sexual ethic was captured in the following remark of a student: "It is generally assumed that women at this college will have some sexual experience in their four years of college. Ideally, what is desired is a relationship based on friendship and love, though not necessarily involving a commitment to marriage. One night stands and sleeping around is disapproved as are the sleazy teasers who are out to collect men."

As to virgins another student voiced not an uncommon view: "I heard women, mostly very religious Jews and Catholics, say that they intended to remain virgins until they're married. Most people won't jump on someone whose reasons are religious. But if a woman expressed just a moral compunction, then other women will most likely argue and attempt to convince her that sexual relations with a boyfriend are not immoral."

Another student, herself a virgin, indirectly confirmed these dominant values: "Students on my floor are quite open about sex, especially those who have had one or two affairs. Virgins don't talk about being virgins in a group, nor do women who are promiscuous."

The prevailing censure of "sleeping around" was evident in the reported gossip about "sluts" and also, in the anxiety about their reputation expressed to us by some women who in fact engaged in "casual" sex.

Such may have been the prevailing sexual norms but variations within

the college community were wide. For some the religious or moral prohibition of premarital sex was so deeply internalized that no conflict as to behavior could arise. Contrast such a position with the attitudes expressed in the following excerpts from interviews:

> "Someone who was a virgin would definitely be on the defensive. You would never want to admit it, you'd be in a really bad social situation if you did. But sex somehow is not as important here as it was in high school. Sure, everyone talks about it, it's nice but it's casual. When you have sex with a guy, it's just not that weighty, it doesn't mean that you're indebted to see him for the next four years. But you have to have a certain amount of sex in order to have a good social and self-image. Too much sex, on the other hand, is bad, because then people look at you as just being after sex, and perhaps you could be called a 'sex object.' There is such a thing as too much. It's a nice, casual attitude, though. They don't brag about it, as in high school, it's just part of life. It's a normal thing."

And, again.

> "Girls who don't believe in premarital sex have it somewhat rough on this campus because most girls have had or plan to have sexual experiences so that the virgins are the odd ones out. By and large, having a boyfriend bestows prestige. When you are sleeping with someone, it does give you a slight edge. You are somehow considered a little tougher, a little better."

The variation of sexual norms confronted the individual with moral choices. Those fully integrated into a group of like-minded friends enjoyed the security of such a consensus. But this did not solve the problems for the majority. For one thing most students had some friends outside their own "crowds" who may have aspoused different values. Furthermore, few were so insulated as not to be aware of the variety of moral options. For some this confusion created a tormenting problem of choice. Even the degree of sanctioned communication about sex varied enough to generate stress.

At one extreme were only two or three students who claimed that they had never heard anyone voice an opinion for or against premarital sex. One of these, a resident student "wouldn't think of discussing this even with my girl friend. So private a matter shouldn't be discussed by anyone but the couple involved." The topic of sex had been completely "taboo" in her family and has apparently so remained for her in college. In view of the reports of dorm discussions, this student may have expressed her ideal of reserve and some denial of reality.

At the other extreme were experienced women who, as one unsympathetic roommate put it, discussed their own affairs and the performance of their lovers in such "graphic detail" as to make her feel uncomfortable.

The majority fell between the two poles. "How open you are about your sexual activities depends on what group you are in" observed one student, perceiving accurately the variations in norms of self-disclosure about sex.

Given the desire for peer approval, each had to test the operative norms of her new associates at college. Even this caution, occasionally, generated guilt: "Did I keep quiet about myself because I am ashamed of my behavior?," reflected a student.

"What surprised me about my freshman roommate," recollected a sophomore: "Was her blunt questions about sex life. She was a virgin and so were all of us in the suite. But she wanted to know where everyone stood on this issue. I was shocked because I would never ask such a question, nor would anyone in my high school."

"Generally people are open," remarked one sexually experienced sophomore: "But there's a lot of discretion too. For example, if I'm just starting a relationship, I won't talk about it until it's developed. On

the other hand, if someone has the guts to ask me right away how it's going, I'll be gutsy in my response and tell them right off the bat."

Several students testified to a sense of liberation and general growth upon the discovery that sex was not a tabooed topic in college: "It was a good experience for me to be able to talk to someone frankly about sexuality because this topic was never broached in my home."

The uncertainty concerning acceptable limits of self-disclosure was, of course, much less of a problem than issues of actual sexual behavior.

We estimate that 51 percent of the interviewed sophomores were virgins, 40 percent have had one or more lovers and the remaining 9 percent of the interviews did not contain conclusive information.

Pressures To Become Sexually Experienced

Many students felt that the general cultural climate exerted a considerable pressure upon college males to lose their virginity and that college women are beginning to be subject to similar expectations. We observed several indirect indications that such pressures do exist. These consisted of reports of bragging, that is, women claiming more experience than they have in reality had, the speculations about sexual hang-ups of virgins, and the attitudes expressed by some students about their first sexual encounters. "I know," remarked one student: "That some girls in my dorm pretend to have had more sexual experiences than they had. I know for a fact that some are bragging." Another manifestation of changing expectations was the speculations about why some acquaintance remained a virgin. "In my crowd," remarked one sexually experienced sophomore: "If a girl is a virgin, one almost wonders why?"

Other students conveyed, also, the view that virginity is a problematic status to be accounted for. A sophomore who confessed that her own sexual experiences were disappointing, both physically and emotionally, had this to say about virgins: "The virgins I have known are afraid of men; they are holding on to their virginity as a cloak to keep them from having relationships with men." As for herself, she was happy that she lost her virginity even if her affairs fell below her expectations. She now feels "more expanded, able to express my sexuality, not in a blatant way, but in subtle ways through my cloting, my walk, in the way I interact with people." She claimed that she could always tell which classmate was a virgin because "virgins are closed, girlish, and they don't express their sexuality."

The significance of these remarks lies in the readiness of some women to attribute sexual hang-ups to virgins, almost in the manner in which rejected male seducers have been known to seek to account for their failure.

There is still another indirect evidence of the prestige attached to sexual experience. A number of freshmen, who had their first intercourse very soon upon the initial encounter with a man and who found the experience unsatisfactory both physically and emotionally, expressed relatively little guilt or regret. We do not have systematic data on the circumstances surrounding the first sexual experience in college. Nor do we know the long range influences that such experiences might have upon particular individuals. We offer the following excerpts from interviews as evidence that in some cases the prestige attached to this initiation into adulthood offset the admitted disappointment and emotional hurt.

"In high school I had never had a boyfriend" said a student who met a male freshman during Freshman Orientation. They spent the three days together: "It was lots of fun. I really thought he liked me, that maybe he would be into having a relationship. We played frisbee, we went to cocktail parties. We talked an awful lot. We went to a party in his room. At first he just kissed me and I wouldn't let him do anything more. I was inexperienced and very shy. He didn't force me but eventually we did have sex. But after that he was very casual. He just seemed to forget about the whole thing and I would see him with other girls. It was very disappointing." This student may have concealed the depth of her disappointment when she added that she didn't regret her experience but in her own words: "I said to myself: 'Wow, now I understand what a one night stand is. Now I know what that all means'."

In the next illustration of an unsatisfactory initiation into sex, another student reminisced: "When I first came to this City, I was ready for sexual experiences. I developed several relationships at the same time. It was horrible. I felt torn apart. When I met John (her current boyfriend), I realized that it was important to me to give my love to just one person. I now know that I am happy only in a monogamous relationship, sexually and emotionally."

"Horrible" as she felt her previous chaotic affairs were, they helped her, she remarked to the interviewer, to acquire a deeper understanding of her own personality and to "get those desires out of my system."

For some virgins, as seen in the above cases, the prestige attached to initiation into sex served to allay the disappointment with the experience. This was not, of course, the universal reaction. A bitterness towards her sexual partners was described by a sophomore:

> "I used to feel pressured to give in to sexual demands and that made me dislike men. They never wanted to experience me as a person and that used to make me real angry. All they wanted to do was to go to bed. Even if I wanted to sleep with them too, I always felt that I was rushed into it and there was always a core of resentment afterwards. I used to dislike men a lot more than do now. I'm still angry but it has diminished because I know now that I don't have to put up with that kind of pressure."

Countervailing Forces: Some Adjusted and Some Conflictful Virgins

We have referred earlier to virgins whose strong religions and moral convictions required premarital chastity. Those who belonged to organized groups with males who shared the same values frequently enjoyed cross-sex friendships in which sexual intercourse was not an issue. But there were some others who without these organizational ties also enjoyed an active social life.

> A Catholic student described her close girl friends as sharing her own intention not to have sex outside of marriage. These were exceptionally attractive women, popular with a group of athletes on the male campus who divided women into those "they would get serious with and others whom they see for sex." She and her friends tease the guys; if they see one of them at a party, they'll ask the next day: "Did you get lucky (meaning, did you get her into bed?)?." These guys all boast about their conquests. Yes, sex was quite a big topic of conversation among women. If anyone would ask her directly whether she was a virgin, she would tell, in fact, she did just that on one occasion without any feeling of defensiveness. A freshman roommate, who was her good friend, lost her virginity and now sleeps around. They became estranged.

The attractiveness of these conservative women combined with their selective association with men who also adhered to the traditional "double standard" accounted for their adjustment.

In the next case the student's adherence to the norm of premarital chastity was not directly linked to religious affiliations and she maintained her standards without the support of a "subculture." Her boyfriend, she explained, "did not put any sexual pressure on me. We pet and are very passionate with one another, but we do not go all the way." She was not troubled about sexuality because she has made her decision and her boyfriend respected it. Sex may become an issue, she concluded, were she to date a lot of men but she was satisfied with her life and had no desire for a wider range of dating partners.

The women described so far did not appear in conflict about their virginity given their moral defenses and selective association with others who shared their values. Another type of adjusted virgin is represented by a student whose self-esteem was so enhanced by other developments of the first year of college as to diminish the salience of sexual experience. These compensating interests and rewards derive from various sources: academic achievement, involvement in social causes, various extracurricular activities, a sense of personal development. In one case, an unhappy relationship with her boyfriend, paradoxically, contributed to a sense of growth.

> This girl had a high school boyfriend who went to a different college. All through their relationship she was dependent upon him and allowed herself to be at his beck and call. She wrote to him four or five letters a week and lived for vacations when they could see one another. But he "dumped her," telling her about a new girl he had at college. "I was hysterical for weeks, I lost weight. Then I started going out with one of his best friends and this upset him a lot and he told me he wished he had never broken up with me."
>
> Gradually, she began to have an active social life with female and male classmates and felt an immense sense of liberation and pride. When the interviewer commented on her relief, she responded: "Oh, yeah I feel great and I am happy with school this year. I even broke up with someone I was going with at the beginning of my sophomore year. Everyone's always broken up with me and now I actually decided that it wasn't a good relationship for me, so I left the person and I'm going out with someone else now. It is really nice."

Returning to the question of sex, this woman felt that she was somewhat ambivalent about her virginity but her newly acquired sense of personal independence and self-esteem, her active social life and an interest in E.R.A., all have combined to put the issue of sex temporarily into the background.

The virgins described so far appeared relatively free of conflict. Some attained this serenity at the price of a high degree of selective association with women and men who shared their values in isolation from the larger community. Others were attractive and flirtatious enough to enjoy social life with men who still accepted the double standard of morality and for whom they were the "nice" girls. Still others found such compensatory sources of ego-enhancement in the course of their freshman year as to make the sexual questions relatively less pressing.

We turn now to the conflictful virgins, some unwavering in their adherence to the norm of premarital chastity, but uncomfortable and defensive, others tormented by indecision.

The first case illustrates a woman who felt herself a deviant at college and among her friends. But she was both critical about the prevailing code and quite defensive about herself.

> "Well" she said: "I'm a virgin and I'm going to stay a virgin until I get married. I don't think my friends are. My roommate is pretty free with what she gives. She disgusts me but my friends say that what she does is her own business. I guess that's true, but I still feel very uncomfortable around her."
>
> The student surmised that she is uncomfortable with her experienced suite-mates because "it makes me odd, I'm the only one who wasn't having any sexual experience."

She went on to explain her attitude towards sex.

> "It isn't a matter of religion with me. It is morality. I'd like to be sure that I was in love with the guy before I went to bed with him. I'm not going to jump into bed with just anybody. I would feel used and somewhat dirty. I don't believe that sex is something that's dirty, but I'd feel that if I just jumped into bed with someone that I wasn't in love with, I would feel that I had compromised my own moral values. Also, although it was never explicitly said in my house, I think I was brought up to believe that you should wait until marriage, that you just shouldn't jump

> into bed with the first guy that you meet. My parents never really said that I had to wait until marriage, but I always felt that they would be disappointed in me if I wasn't in a very serious relationship that was tending toward marriage and I went to bed with a guy."

She's not embarrassed to talk to her close friends about her attitudes toward sex, but she never speaks up in a group. She says that in the dormitory women discuss quite freely their sexual adventures and experiences, but it embarrasses her. She never says anything, and if she becomes too embarrassed by how explicit the talk is, then she leaves and goes back to her room. There is one woman on her dorm floor who goes to the Pub, picks up men and sleeps with them. She is not only casual about her sex life, she is up front about it and doesn't seem to be embarrassed that she is the most talked about girl on the floor. Sometimes she comes into this student's room to exchange her sexual adventures with the student's equally promiscuous roommate. Our respondent is too embarrassed to listen to their talk and she leaves very resentful to be "kicked out of my own room."

The male students of the Eastern college, this student felt, were able to spot virgins and were out to get them, because this was deemed a special kind of conquest.

This student herself defined the crux of her stress: She considers the sexual freedom of her classmates immoral and disgusting and yet they make her feel odd. Her plight might be the result of fortuitous circumstances of room assignments in the freshman year or her own passivity in her failure to seek out friends with more congenial values.

Another student, a virgin who believed that premarital sex was wrong, felt that virgins were made to feel on the defensive in this college. Her deep resentment of this attitude is apparent in the following excerpt from

her interview:

> One of her three girl friends at college did have sex with her boyfriend, but then, the relationship went sour. "It would crush me to give myself to someone and have it not work out." No, she doesn't judge girls who have had intercourse badly: "Everybody has failings." She was told about another girl who met a guy and they were sexually attracted to each other and had sex. "The way I understood it, it wasn't love, just animal attraction. Guys will just get it from who they can." Another girl friend was seeing a guy for awhile and when she wouldn't have sex with him, he stopped seeing her.
>
> The student met some guys at Eastern College who were "mostly decent" but she was not dating.

For the woman to be described next, the decision whether or not to have sexual intercourse was a major conflict.

A sophomore spoke:

> "I'm pretty happy with myself. There is only one conflict I have and that's a really big thing in my life now. It is sex. I don't know what's the right thing to do. How old do you have to be before you decide when to do it? I am so confused and there's no one I can talk to about it. My two girl friends who are still virgins are intending to marry their boyfriends in a couple of years, so they dont' have to wait that long. They are doing it with the guys they are going to marry. Then there is another friend who is a 'free, liberated woman' who has been having sex for a long time. Her mother is so liberal that she doesn't mind if a guy sleeps over in the house. All of these friends wouldn't understand my confusion."

She went on to explain that she lost a boyfriend because she refused to have sex with him. "I'm just afraid of pregnancy, or that the guy won't wait to marry me then." She'd "die" if she had to walk into the Health Services to ask for advice. She certainly doesn't want to wait for ever, but she hates for guys to pressure her. Because, she explained, "I don't have firm standards to fall back upon. I sort of apologize when I refuse sex and I really don't know why I am saying 'I'm sorry' but this only gets the guys aggravated. There's just no one to talk this whole business over with."

We illustrated some adjusted and conflictful virgins. A few could not be classified because the interview suggested that some deeper conflicts may have been hidden despite the apparant adjustment. One such student admitted that though she was "somewhat uneasy" about sexual relations, she was not troubled because she had no desire to engage in sexual activities while still in college.

> The student did not disapprove of premarital sex in principle. Some of her friends had and others did not have any sexual experiences and that's a personal decision. She would never discuss sex in a mixed group. She intended to remain a virgin until she found someone that she wanted to spend her life with. She wasn't even sure that she would ever meet a man that she wanted to spend her life with, but she certainly wasn't going to have casual sexual relationships. She does not feel ashamed to talk with her girl friend about the fact that she's a virgin. She talks to her closest friends about her lack of sexual experience and her lack of desire for sexual experience. One of her girl friends feels that she's missing a great deal, but she knows for a fact that this friend herself is also a virgin.

We have focused upon pressures operating within the college community. But women in late adolescence have close and often ambivalent relationships with their parents which play a major part in their sexual development. The research did not pursue this problem systematically but the interviewed students had much to say on the subject when parental relationships were especially supportive or, at the other pole, especially tense over the issue of sex. The conflicts of the young women were exacerbated when parental attitudes mattered and at the same time ran counter to those of significant peers. Concealment of an affair was a more or less satisfactory method of coping only when parental values did not generate excessive guilt. This was illustrated by a student who explained:

> "I get a lot of pressure from my mother about not sleeping with the guys. One time I was staying over at my boyfriend's and my mother tried to phone me at 11 o'clock, at 1, 3, 5, 7. When she finally reached me in the morning, she was hysterical and accused me of sleeping with my boyfriend and of neglecting my work. She offered to buy me a car if I were willing to stay home and commute. My father is a lot more open-minded about sex. He tells her that he was glad that her mother was a virgin but that it's up to her to make her own decision." This student did not express much anxiety over this conflict with her mother.

Although parent-child relationships as a factor in sexual development of the daughter is an issue falling outside the scope of this research, there are references to it throughout the book. This chapter, to repeat, deals with the variety of sexual experiences and peer attitudes within the college community.

Casual Sex: Deviance or Liberation

Women who "slept around" were the subject of unfavorable gossip and whatever rewards they derived from such a life-style, they were aware of their deviant status. Interviews with this small minority brought to light either anxiety about their reputation or an angry defiance.

But not all promiscuous women felt on the defensive. Some, apparently few in number, viewed themselves as the avant-garde of true sexual liberation, as the "cutting edge" of the new order. Echoes of their ideology were heard now and then beyond their ranks. For example, a sophomore had a sexual relationship since her senior year in high school with a man attending another college. They discussed the possibility of a future marriage in a light-hearted way, neither one ready to make a commitment.

Because they were separated geographically, this gregarious young woman often accompanied female classmates to parties or to the Pub where, on occasion, some male student made a play for her. She confided a conflict to the interviewer. It was not the temptation to respond to some advances but the lack of it that worried her. "Am I denying my sexuality," she wondered: "By refusing a one night stand? I love my boyfriend but I wonder, is there anything wrong with me that I find a one-night pick up so distasteful, so alarming?"

Another sexually experienced sophomore discussed freely her current affairs with her equally experienced women friend. She expressed great admiration for one of them who is "very sexually active." She is out to experience everything she can, and to learn about her body and its responses. Not particularly popular on her dormitory floor, she nevertheless enjoys a certain measure of respect because people come to her with

their sexual problems. The reporting student felt that this woman had a genuine search for a variety of experiences in contrast with the attitude towards sex as a series of conquests. "Unfortunately," she added: "I believe that most women at this college have not had really satisfying sexual experiences and are engaging in sex out of competition, to prove to themselves and to their friends that they are sexually attractive. To treat sex as a conquest, the view that another man is an additional notch in her belt — this is a sick attitude, not liberation."

The values of the ideological subculture were described in a diary kept for us by a sophomore.

> "What I have noticed in my own friends is the adoption of the traditionally male role of the hunter or the cruiser. I have done it myself to an extent but I have seen it carried too far, to the point where women pick up the very traits that they criticize in men. The behavior is an extension of what might once have been called the 'tease.' You make sure that you look very good but you don't wait for anyone to notice you. You do the eyeing up and down and make sure it's obvious that you are checking them all out. It's carried to an extreme when women will talk to or dance with several men just for the sake of rejecting them soon after. What differentiates these women from the traditional flirt or coquette is that they feel that what they are doing is all part of the greater feminist plan or at least of some sense of liberation, sexual or otherwise.
>
> This attitude comes out even more strongly in conversations about men — with or without men present. I think it's great that women don't feel inhibited about discussing their sexuality or what they like about a man's body. I don't feel a need, however, to discuss the male anatomy with the cold, 'macho' eye of a prospective cattle buyer. Such reverse discrimination is inevitable up to a point but I don't think it's particularly constructive to assume the very characteristics that we are trying to rid men of. I know that some women feel they must do a lot of 'catching up' on certain rights and privileges that have traditionally been an exclusively male prerogative. I tend to think there is a difference between 'catching up' and running backwards.
>
> In re-reading yesterday's installment I was reminded of an incident in high school that seemed to shed some light on the

> topic of women adopting men's attitudes. In the locker room after gym one day several of the girls were describing the evening they had spent at a male strip show the night before. We were all quite fascinated and made immediate plans to go. To prove your success with all men was one way to demonstrate your independence from men in general (or your steady boyfriend in particular). I think we all felt that watching men perform erotically for us was as good a way to assert our independence as any."

We have had another report of a small group of women who prided themselves on having a string of lovers. The admired goal is to make a conscious decision to pick up an attractive Eastern college man, not to be picked up by him. "The ideal is to have the guy end up in your room the next morning, rather than ending up in his." The "super women" are those who engage in such freely chosen sex (and a lot of it) and still keep up with academic work.

If these reports are to be trusted, there exists a small subculture in which equality is defined as a victory in the male model of sexual behavior: the decision when to have sex, the choice of a partner, the casual attitude towards intercourse, the position of power symbolized by both the initiative and the place of sexual activity.

APPENDIX

Research Instruments

1979, First Wave - questionnaires and scales

1980, Second Wave - The 1979 questionnaires of all the dependent variables distributed again to the total sample.

Interview Guide

1982-3, Third Wave - Selected questionnaires being distributed to total sample.

Fall 1979

EXPECTATIONS FOR ACADEMIC PERFORMANCE

How do you think you will do academically at Barnard? You may or may not have given any prior thought to this question, but which of the following comes closest to your best present guess? Please look over all statements before checking.

Check

_____1. I am likely to make a B+ or higher average.

_____2. I am likely to make a B or B- average.

_____3. I am likely to have a C+ average, though there might be individual courses in which I'll do better.

_____4. It is possible that I may fail one or more courses.

_____5. I don't think I can even venture a guess at this point.

_____6. Other:

EXPECTATION 2 -- MARRIAGE

What is your best guess as to the chance that you will

	No Chance	Very Little Chance	Some Chance	Very Good Chance
1. Get married within 5 years after college.				
2. Get married within a year after college or in college.				

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HIGH SCHOOL SOCIAL LIFE

Please check

1. Did you attend an all-girls' high school during your junior and senior years? _____

   Did you attend a coeducational high school during your junior and senior years? _____

   If you transferred from one type of school to another during the last years of high school, please specify.

2. Try to think back to your junior and senior years in high school -- did you go out on, what used to be called "dates"? ("Social occasions with a man," whether just as a pair, or as a pair with another couple or couples, or as a pair with a large group.)

	Junior Year	Senior Year
Did not go out as a pair at all. . .		
Once a month or less.		
Two or three times a month.		
More than this.		

3. If you went out with men during the junior and senior years of high school, did you ever

   a) see one person regularly for some period during the two years? _____

   b) have more than one special male friend during the two years? (number) _____

   c) went out with several men, but with none exclusively _____

4. Do you feel that, compared with the other girls in your high school, your social life with female and male friends in the last two years of high school was:

	Social life with female friends	Social life with male friends
More satisfactory. .		
As satisfactory. . .		
Less satisfactory. .		

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MASCULINE AND FEMININE PERSONALITY TRAITS *

Please check statement expressing most closely your opinions:

1. Women are more sympathetic than men.
   __Agree __Agree somewhat __Uncertain __Disagree somewhat __Disagree
2. Women are more emotional than men.
   __Agree __Agree somewhat __Uncertain __Disagree somewhat __Disagree
3. Women are more sensitive than men.
   __Agree __Agree somewhat __Uncertain __Disagree somewhat __Disagree
4. Men are more aggressive than women.
   __Agree __Agree somewhat __Uncertain __Disagree somewhat __Disagree
5. Men are more ambitious than women.
   __Agree __Agree somewhat __Uncertain __Disagree somewhat __Disagree
6. Women have a higher moral character than men.
   __Agree __Agree somewhat __Uncertain __Disagree somewhat __Disagree
7. The reasoning ability of men is greater than that of women.
   __Agree __Agree somewhat __Uncertain __Disagree somewhat __Disagree
8. Women are more artistically inclined than men.
   __Agree __Agree somewhat __Uncertain __Disagree somewhat __Disagree
9. It probably goes against basic needs of men and women to place women in a position of authority over men.
   __Agree __Agree somewhat __Uncertain __Disagree somewhat __Disagree
10. Men are more straightforward, less devious, than women.
    __Agree __Agree somewhat __Uncertain __Disagree somewhat __Disagree
11. Women tend to be pettier than men.
    __Agree __Agree somewhat __Uncertain __Disagree somewhat __Disagree
12. Men are more original than women.
    __Agree __Agree somewhat __Uncertain __Disagree somewhat __Disagree
13. Women are more insecure than men.
    __Agree __Agree somewhat __Uncertain __Disagree somewhat __Disagree
14. Women are more superficial than men.
    __Agree __Agree somewhat __Uncertain __Disagree somewhat __Disagree

*Adapted from Kammeyer & K. Johnson.

15. Women are more artificial than men.

__Agree __Agree somewhat __Uncertain __Disagree somewhat __Disagree

16. Women are more easily offended than men.

__Agree __Agree somewhat __Uncertain __Disagree somewhat __Disagree

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THE LIFE STYLE INDEX

I. As far as you can tell now, do you plan to continue your education after receiving a bachelor's degree? Please circle the appropriate number:

Yes, graduate school	1
Yes, professional school	2
Yes, other training	3
No, I do not plan to continue	4

II. How important do you think the following feature of an occupation has been or will be in influencing your choice of a field of work? Circle 1, 2, 3, 4 or 5 to indicate the degree of importance this work feature has for you.

Provides freedom from supervision

Completely unimportant	1
Not so important	2
Somewhat important	3
Quite important	4
Very important	5

III. Below are some conditions under which women work. Rate yourself on these by speculating how you might feel about holding a job after marriage and graduation from college. Circle 1, 2, 3, 4 or 5 according to <u>whether you would want to work under each condition</u>. (Be sure to rate yourself on all 7 conditions.)

	Definitely Not	Probably Not	Undecided	Probably Would	Definitely Would
1. No children; husband's salary adequate.	1	2	3	4	5
2. One child of preschool age; husband's salary adequate.	1	2	3	4	5
3. One child of preschool age; husband's salary not adequate.	1	2	3	4	5

III. Cont.

	Definitely Not	Probably Not	Undecided	Probably would	Definitely would
4. Two or more children of preschool age; husband's salary not adequate.	1	2	3	4	5
5. Two or more children of school age; husband's salary adequate.	1	2	3	4	5
6. Two or more children of school age; husband's salary not adequate.	1	2	3	4	5
7. Children have grown up and left home; husband's salary adequate.	1	2	3	4	5

IV. Assume that you are trained for the occupation of your choice, that you will marry and have children, and that your husband will earn enough so that you will never have to work unless you want to. Under these conditions, which of the following would you prefer (circle one).

To participate in clubs or volunteer work 1

To spend time on hobbies, sports or other activities 2

To work part-time in your chosen occupation

Please check 3a, 3b, or 3c

To work part-time with pre-school children 3a

To work part-time as long as children are of school age 3b

To work part-time whatever the age of the children 3c

To work full-time in your chosen occupation 4

To concentrate on home and family 5

Other (explain briefly) 6

V. Fifteen years from now, would you like to be:

A housewife with no children 1

A housewife with one or more children 2

An unmarried career woman 3

A married career woman without children 4

A married career woman with children 5

Other: what? 6

Fall 1979

ATTITUDES TOWARDS SEX ROLES[1]

The statements listed below describe attitudes toward the roles of women in society which different people have. There are no right or wrong answers, only opinions. You are asked to express your feeling about each statement by indicating whether you (A) agree strongly, (B) agree mildly, (C) disagree mildly, or (D) disagree strongly.

1. Swearing and obscenity are more repulsive in the speech of a woman than a man.

A	B	C	D
Agree strongly	Agree mildly	Disagree mildly	Disagree strongly

2. Under modern economic conditions with women being active outside the home, men should share in household tasks such as washing dishes and doing the laundry.

A	B	C	D
Agree strongly	Agree mildly	Disagree mildly	Disagree strongly

3. It is insulting to women to have the "obey" clause remain in the marriage service.

A	B	C	D
Agree strongly	Agree mildly	Disagree mildly	Disagree strongly

4. A woman should be as free as a man to propose marriage.

A	B	C	D
Agree strongly	Agree mildly	Disagree mildly	Disagree strongly

1. Adapted from J. T. Spence & R. L. Helmreich. Masculinity and Femininity, p. 237.

5. Women should worry less about their rights and more about becoming good wives and mothers.

A	B	C	D
Agree strongly	Agree mildly	Disagree mildly	Disagree strongly

6. Women should assume their rightful place in business and all the professions along with men.

A	B	C	D
Agree strongly	Agree mildly	Disagree mildly	Disagree strongly

7. A woman should not expect to go to exactly the same places or to have quite the same freedom of action as a man.

A	B	C	D
Agree strongly	Agree mildly	Disagree mildly	Disagree strongly

8. It is ridiculous for a woman to run a locomotive and for a man to darn socks.

A	B	C	D
Agree strongly	Agree mildly	Disagree mildly	Disagree strongly

9. The intellectual leadership of a community should be largely in the hands of men.

A	B	C	D
Agree strongly	Agree mildly	Disagree mildly	Disagree strongly

10. Women should be given equal opportunity with men for apprenticeship in the various trades.

A	B	C	D
Agree strongly	Agree mildly	Disagree mildly	Disagree strongly

11. Women earning as much as their dates should bear equally the expense when they go out together.

A	B	C	D
Agree strongly	Agree mildly	Disagree mildly	Disagree strongly

12. Sons in a family should be given more encouragement to go to college than daughters.

A	B	C	D
Agree strongly	Agree mildly	Disagree mildly	Disagree strongly

13. In general, the father should have greater authority than the mother in the bringing up of children.

A	B	C	D
Agree strongly	Agree mildly	Disagree mildly	Disagree strongly

14. Economic and social freedom is worth far more to women than acceptance of the ideal of femininity which has been set up by men.

A	B	C	D
Agree strongly	Agree mildly	Disagree mildly	Disagree strongly

15. There are many jobs in which men should be given preference over women in being hired or promoted.

A	B	C	D
Agree strongly	Agree mildly	Disagree mildly	Disagree strongly

WINTER 1983

ATTITUDES TO WOMEN'S LIBERATION MOVEMENT

1. Please indicate your feelings about the "women's liberation movement" in general by circling one of the choices below:

   a) sympathize greatly, think it is certainly justified

   b) sympathize somewhat, think it is somewhat justified

   c) neither for it nor against it

   d) somewhat against it, think it has little, if any, justification

   e) very much against it, think it has no justification

2. Have you ever been active in the movement in any way? (check one):

   a) yes_____ b) no _____

   If yes, please specify (circle as appropriate):

   a) consciousness-raising group

   b) abortion reform

   c) day-care facilities

   d) demonstrations

   e) conferences, symposia, workshops

   f) other (explain)

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COLLEGE MAJOR

You may or may not have decided what your college major will be. Please read over the list below and then check the statement that best describes your present thoughts on the subject.

Check

_____1. I have at present no idea of what my major in college will be.

_____2. I am undecided, but I think I might major in one of the following three (or more) fields:

a) b)

c) others

_____3. I am considering one of the following two fields:

a) b)

_____4. I am most likely to major in _____ (write in).

_____5. I am most likely to major in _____ (write in).

_____6. Other possibilities not covered in above statements.

_____

_____

_____

Which one or two persons most influenced your choice of major? (Please circle)

Mother	Closest male friend
Father	Fiancé
Closest Sister	Teacher
Closest Brother	Guidance Counselor
Relative	Myself or nobody
Closest female friend	Other (specify)

Fall 1979

F U T U R E O C C U P A T I O N S

Question I.

Please look over the following statements and check the one that comes closest to expressing your present thoughts about post-college work:

Check

_____1. I feel it is too early to know what kind of work I may do after college and have no definite occupational plans at present.

_____2. I wish I did know what I wanted to do after college, but I am quite undecided at present.

_____3. I may change my mind, but at present I am considering several possible occupations. Among these, the most likely three choices are:

a) b) c)

_____4. I shall probably choose one of the following two occupations:

a) b)

_____5. I am fairly certain that I shall enter the following occupation:

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RELATIONSHIP TO MOTHER IN CHILDHOOD

1. She made me feel wanted and needed

____very true ____tended to be true ____tended to be untrue ____very untrue

2. She set very few rules for me

____very true ____tended to be true ____tended to be untrue ____very untrue

3. She praised me when I deserved it

____very true ____tended to be true ____tended to be untrue ____very untrue

4. She never let me get away with breaking a rule

____very true ____tended to be true ____tended to be untrue ____very untrue

5. She ridiculed me and made fun of me

____very true ____tended to be true ____tended to be untrue ____very untrue

6. She wanted to have complete control of my actions

____very true ____tended to be true ____tended to be untrue ____very untrue

7. She acted as if I didn't exist

____very true ____tended to be true ____tended to be untrue ____very untrue

8. She pushed me to do well in school

____very true ____tended to be true ____tended to be untrue ____very untrue

9. She was overprotective of me

____very true ____tended to be true ____tended to be untrue ____very untrue

10. She tended to keep out of and withdraw from family situations that might be unpleasant

____very true ____tended to be true ____tended to be untrue ____very untrue

Fall 1979

RELATIONSHIP TO FATHER IN CHILDHOOD

1. He made me feel wanted and needed

____very true ____tended to be true ____tended to be untrue ____very untrue

2. He set very few rules for me

____very true ____tended to be true ____tended to be untrue ____very untrue

3. He praised me when I deserved it

____very true ____tended to be true ____tended to be untrue ____very untrue

4. He never let me get away with breaking a rule

____very true ____tended to be true ____tended to be untrue ____very untrue

5. He ridiculed me and made fun of me

____very true ____tended to be true ____tended to be untrue ____very untrue

6. He wanted to have complete control of my actions

____very true ____tended to be true ____tended to be untrue ____very untrue

7. He acted as if I didn't exist

____very true ____tended to be true ____tended to be untrue ____very untrue

8. He pushed me to do well in school

____very true ____tended to be true ____tended to be untrue ____very untrue

9. He was overprotective of me

____very true ____tended to be true ____tended to be untrue ____very untrue

10. He tended to keep out of and withdraw from family situations that might be unpleasant

____very true ____tended to be true ____tended to be untrue ____very untrue

FAMILY RELATIONSHIPS*

Every family is not only a whole unit, but a number of twosomes. For each of the following twosomes in the family in which you grew up, check the category which best describes the relationship.

	Very tense & strained	Somewhat tense & strained	Neutral	Somewhat close & intimate	Very close & intimate	No such twosome
Mother & father						
Mother & me						
Father & me						
An older brother & me						
A younger brother & me						
An older sister & me						
A younger sister & me						

Which of your parents do you take after in A. personality and temperament; B. intelligence; and C. outlook on life?

	A. Personality & temperament	B. Intelligence	C. Outlook on life
Neither parent			
Mother only			
Father only			
Both parents, but mother more			
Both parents, but father more			
Both parents equally			
Don't know			

*Adapted from A. Rossi.

Fall 1979

FAMILY BACKGROUND[1]

1. What is your father's occupation (or, if he is retired or deceased, what was his occupation before)? Please give a detailed answer, such as "welder in an automobile factory," "high school English teacher," "accountant in a large insurance company".

_____

2. Does he (or did he) work for himself or for someone else?

1_____for himself 2_____for someone else

3. About how much was your father's income last year as far as you know? (If your father is not the chief breadwinner in the family, indicate income of main earner.)

1_____less than $3,000
2_____$3,000 to $5,000
3_____$5,000 to $7,500
4_____$7,500 to $10,000
5_____$10,000 to $15,000
6_____$15,000 to $20,000
7_____$20,000 to $30,000
8_____over $30,000

4. How certain are you about this income?

1_____I am quite certain about it
2_____I know it approximately
3_____I am mostly guessing

5. How much formal education did your father have? Your mother?

Father		Mother
1_____	Some grade school	_____1
2_____	Finished grade school	_____2
3_____	Some high school	_____3
4_____	Finished high school	_____4
5_____	Some college	_____5
6_____	Finished college	_____6
7_____	Graduate or professional school after college	_____7

6. How old are your parents? (Guess if you are not sure):

Father's age ____ Mother's age ____

7. Do you have any sisters or brothers? 1_____yes 2_____no
If yes: List them in order of their ages:

Sisters' Ages	Brothers' Ages
1_____	1_____
2_____	2_____
3_____	3_____
4_____	4_____
5_____	5_____
6_____	6_____

8. How many of your sisters will probably go or have gone to college? _____

9. How many of your brothers will probably go or have gone to college? _____

10. In what country were your parents born?

Father's country of birth_____

Mother's country of birth_____

11. What is your parents' religious background?

Mother		Father
1_____	Protestant	_____1
2_____	Catholic	_____2
3_____	Jewish	_____3
4_____	Other (What?)	_____4

12. Do your parents belong to a church, synagogue or temple?

Mother 1_____yes 2_____no
Father 1_____yes 2_____no

13. How old are you? _____

14. Where were you born? (Give city, state and country) _____

_____

15. Does your mother now hold a paying job or has she ever worked during your lifetime? (Including managing her own business or working in a family business.)

1_____yes, she works now full-time
2_____yes, she works now part-time
3_____yes, she worked previously but not now
4_____no, she never worked during my lifetime

16. If she has worked during your lifetime, what different jobs has she held? (Describe as precisely as you can):

1_____

2_____

3_____

4_____

17. Did your mother ever receive special occupational or professional training?

1_____yes 2_____no

If yes, describe briefly_____

_____

18. As far as you know, did your mother ever work for pay before you were born?

1_____yes 2_____no 3_____not certain

If yes, what work did she do? _____

19. In the past few years, has your mother been active in any of the following? (check one or more):

1_____clubs or organizations
2_____community or volunteer work
3_____sports
4_____hobbies. . . .Which ones?_____
5_____other. . . . .What?_____
6_____no, she has not been active in these ways

1. Adapted from Angrist and Almquist.

NAME (see directions below)

SEX: MALE ○ FEMALE ○

AGE _____ DATE _____ SCHOOL _____

NCS ANSWER SHEET FOR

THE ADJECTIVE CHECK LIST

BY HARRISON G. GOUGH

Copyright 1952 by Harrison G. Gough, Ph.D.
University of California, Berkeley

Published by Consulting Psychologists Press
577 College Ave., Palo Alto, Calif.

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My Ideal Woman

● Use No. 2½ or softer pencil ● Fill circles heavily ● Erase any errors or stray marks completely ● Do not use ball point or ink ● Example: ●

DIRECTIONS FOR USING NAME GRID: In the boxes above, print your last name first. Skip a box, then print as much of your first name as possible. Below each box blacken the circle that is lettered the same as the letter in the box. Blacken the blank circle for spaces.

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1 ○ absent-minded	31 ○ cheerful	61 ○ dependent	91 ○ foresighted	121 ○ impulsive
2 ○ active	32 ○ civilized	62 ○ despondent	92 ○ forgetful	122 ○ independent
3 ○ adaptable	33 ○ clear-thinking	63 ○ determined	93 ○ forgiving	123 ○ indifferent
4 ○ adventurous	34 ○ clever	64 ○ dignified	94 ○ formal	124 ○ individualistic
5 ○ affected	35 ○ coarse	65 ○ discreet	95 ○ frank	125 ○ industrious
6 ○ affectionate	36 ○ cold	66 ○ disorderly	96 ○ friendly	126 ○ infantile
7 ○ aggressive	37 ○ commonplace	67 ○ dissatisfied	97 ○ frivolous	127 ○ informal
8 ○ alert	38 ○ complaining	68 ○ distractible	98 ○ fussy	128 ○ ingenious
9 ○ aloof	39 ○ complicated	69 ○ distrustful	99 ○ generous	129 ○ inhibited
10 ○ ambitious	40 ○ conceited	70 ○ dominant	100 ○ gentle	130 ○ initiative
11 ○ anxious	41 ○ confident	71 ○ dreamy	101 ○ gloomy	131 ○ insightful
12 ○ apathetic	42 ○ confused	72 ○ dull	102 ○ good-looking	132 ○ intelligent
13 ○ appreciative	43 ○ conscientious	73 ○ easy-going	103 ○ good-natured	133 ○ interests narrow
14 ○ argumentative	44 ○ conservative	74 ○ effeminate	104 ○ greedy	134 ○ interests wide
15 ○ arrogant	45 ○ considerate	75 ○ efficient	105 ○ handsome	135 ○ intolerant
16 ○ artistic	46 ○ contented	76 ○ egotistical	106 ○ hard-headed	136 ○ inventive
17 ○ assertive	47 ○ conventional	77 ○ emotional	107 ○ hard-hearted	137 ○ irresponsible
18 ○ attractive	48 ○ cool	78 ○ energetic	108 ○ hasty	138 ○ irritable
19 ○ autocratic	49 ○ cooperative	79 ○ enterprising	109 ○ headstrong	139 ○ jolly
20 ○ awkward	50 ○ courageous	80 ○ enthusiastic	110 ○ healthy	140 ○ kind
21 ○ bitter	51 ○ cowardly	81 ○ evasive	111 ○ helpful	141 ○ lazy
22 ○ blustery	52 ○ cruel	82 ○ excitable	112 ○ high-strung	142 ○ leisurely
23 ○ boastful	53 ○ curious	83 ○ fair-minded	113 ○ honest	143 ○ logical
24 ○ bossy	54 ○ cynical	84 ○ fault-finding	114 ○ hostile	144 ○ loud
25 ○ calm	55 ○ daring	85 ○ fearful	115 ○ humorous	145 ○ loyal
26 ○ capable	56 ○ deceitful	86 ○ feminine	116 ○ hurried	146 ○ mannerly
27 ○ careless	57 ○ defensive	87 ○ fickle	117 ○ idealistic	147 ○ masculine
28 ○ cautious	58 ○ deliberate	88 ○ flirtatious	118 ○ imaginative	148 ○ mature
29 ○ changeable	59 ○ demanding	89 ○ foolish	119 ○ immature	149 ○ meek
30 ○ charming	60 ○ dependable	90 ○ forceful	120 ○ impatient	150 ○ methodical

CONTINUE ON REVERSE SIDE →

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NAME (see directions below)

SEX: MALE ○ FEMALE ○

AGE _____ DATE _____ SCHOOL _____

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Sophomores Fall 1980

Outline of Data We Must Obtain

Dependent Variables. Sex-Role Orientations as specified below.

Problem A

Has the student remained stable with regard to the "dependent variables?" What changes are manifested in Set 1 to Set 6?

Set 1 Plans for majors? Future occupations: what earlier possibilities have been eliminated? Is the change, a narrowing of alternatives stated in 1979 or an addition of new options? Change from "innovative" to traditional or vice versa?

Set 2 Preferred time of marriage.

Set 3 Life style index. Professed future projections as to marriage, children, work or career.

Set 4 Attitudes towards Women's Liberation Movement.

Set 5 Views (ideology, sentiments, attitudes) concerning female/male relationships and current experiences. Relationships in intellectual, emotional, sexual, power aspects. Special emphasis on attitudes towards women's roles on the continuum from traditional to feminist.

Set 6 Modes of role straines (see "Dilemmas of Masculinity" Chapter 9 for clues both as to substantive areas of strain and conceptual typology). We shall want to know more about self-concept as a woman and satisfaction, strains in self-esteem.

Which 1979 strains have disappeared and which new strains have appeared?

Problem B. Some conceptualization of changes and stability.

Tentative typology of 1979-1980 comparisons.

Guide for Interview I to be used in conjunction with the outline of Dependent and Independent Variables.

PART I. Summary of changes (or stability) through comparison of 1979-1980 schedules.

PART II. The role of academic work and male/female professors in change, its direction (or stability). This includes instructions to interviewers as to our goals and suggestions for questioning.

Part I Summary of Changes

The interviewer's first task is to digest the total set of materials in the student's folder for 1979 and examine the schedules for Dependent Variables Set 1, 2, 3, and 4 filled out for 1980.

The interview begins with "I see you have indicated that your present intentions with regard to major are...." and similarly with occupation, Set 2, 3, and 4, taken one at a time.

If no change "I see you have filled out schedule x much the same way as in 1979. Was there any time during the past year when you had some doubts but returned to the original views or plans?" If change in Sets 1, 2, 3, and 4 point it out briefly.

Since we have no structured questions for Set 5 and Set 6 -- these will have to be tackled in the second interview.

I suggest that we aim here at getting a fuller description of the student's current positions with regard to dependent variables Sets 1 to 4 and stop having ascertained enough to be able to classify case as to Types I to IV as described in the Outline under Problem B. Let me make a distinction between the 1) facts of change and 2) explanation of change. I think it would be a mistake to begin at this point the analysis of the causes of change or no change. The student will certainly attempt to give some explanation "I got a C in chemistry and decided it is not for me."

I am inclined to limit the questioning to what the student volunteers plus whatever will give a fuller picture of her current views. "I realized that I cannot take 15 years off for childrearing and still have a career. I realized that it is not harmful to children to attend a nursery school, etc., etc."

Were we to probe at this point the hows and whys of the changes, we

would have to go through the "independent variables," Factors 1 to 5 for every dependent variable. It is my assumption that if there are changes in the traditional or feminist direction, or an increase in role strains these may well be the complicated product of several independent variables (i.e., features of the college experience). I propose therefore that having ascertained the student's fuller (than in the filled out schedules) description of what she thinks, feels, wants, plans (rather than why she changed) with regard to Sets 1 through 4, we stop at this point. In sum the question is "In what ways have you changed," (not why?).

The First Interview - Part 2 - Professors and Courses

Introduction for the Interviewer

You should have time left in the first interview to cover Factors 1 and 2 of the Independent Variables: 1) Academic performance in relation to expectations in various subjects taken in the freshman year and 2) Female and male professors. These two features must be distinguished. The student no doubt will shift back and forth from subject to professor.

Our purposes in this section:

We will have ascertained in Part 1 of this interview the 1979-1980 changes (or ~~their~~ their lack) in sex role orientations. The probing, though containing some common elements should be focussed on whatever change we want to explain in each individual case. We should be able to end up knowing something of the following about influence of professors on our dependent variables, such as: a) no professors had any discernable influence on self-concept on any other of our dependent variables. b) The net effect was to anchor the student in whatever attitudes she

brought to Barnard.

c) To reinforce the attitudes, whether feminist or traditional. The difference between b and c may be too subtle. The first (b) implies no questioning of accepted positions whereas (c) is a positive reinforcement.

d) To modify sex role orientations towards the more traditional pole--to lower career aspirations (a push in the direction of "defectors").

e) To modify sex role orientations towards the more feminist pole ("converts") i.e., more self-esteem as a woman, greater intellectual interest, greater openness to career orientations, etc.

Professors in so far as they exert influence can do so in several ways.

Explicit ideological remarks about feminine/masculine roles that arouse in students interest, indignation, approval. Irony, pursuasion in class.

Presentation of factual materials on women artists, in psychology, sociology, etc., etc.

Influence exerted on sex-role orientation (positive or negative) by virtue of different behavior towards male/female students (reacting to comments of one sex more seriously, patronizing, put downs).

Influence exerted by either lowering or enhancing the self-esteem of the student (in grading, in comments upon questions). See influence in out-of-class interaction as special topic.

Influence exerted by being admired, liked, disliked, or indifferent. Personality, abilities of teacher as negative or positive role models.

With regard to courses, our task is to discover whether changes,

if any, were the result of new intellectual interests, unanticipated strengths, or conversely disappointment in either her previous interest in a subject or her performance in it. On the whole, what is your assessment? Did the student suffer some loss of self-esteem as a student (in general or only in a special field that was not too crucial) or found she was better than she had anticipated? Does she feel she gave about as much time to studies as she expected? More or less?

Perhaps we can begin to assess how strong the students academic interests are? How much is she preoccupied with vocational and not "liberal arts" aspects of the colleges experience, or both? There will be other points in the interview in which these matters will reemerge in description of the people she hangs out with ("my friends are into studying" or "partying and having some fun").

So much for the introduction to the interviewer and the statement of our objectives. Now for the interview proper.

The questioning might begin with some opening statement:

"We are interested in finding out what the freshman year has meant to you academically. Student reactions vary--some have been disappointed in general--"I have had better teachers in high school." Others were enthusiastic at least about some subjects and some instructors.

Some students felt that they did not study as much as they had in high school. One said: "I was Joe's student all through high school. For some reason I haven't been studying as hard here. Perhaps I hang out with the wrong crowd. The guys seem to feel it is "cool" not to be into studying and tell me I'll learn not to study by the sophomore year." Others repeated that they only now learned what it is to study hard and they have worked

much harder than in high school. In order to get a more accurate picture we are asking what your schedule of courses was each term, without naming the instructor. Interviewer uses schedule asking student to dictate name of course. Rate the instructor 1 to 3.

When all courses are listed ask which professor was female, which male.

If professor is female does the student know whether teacher is single or married? Children?

Let her talk about 3 courses you found most stimulating? What about a) subject matter b) professor, added to their value?

Why did you give the rating of 1 to those you gave? (Knowledge of subject, fascinating presentation, inspiration, attitude to students?)

"Now let us turn specifically to women's issues. Do you have any idea as to where the professor stood on the whole issue of masculine and feminine roles? In some courses, psychology, sociology, women in art or women's studies the subject of the course is bound to include relevant factual material. In other courses the attitude of the professor may be manifested in some incidental remarks about psychological sex differences, graduate study for male and female students, views on affirmative action for women, on the family, on suitable and unsuitable occupations. Perhaps, some remarks in response to questions from students.

The attitude of a particular professor may also become evident from differences in treatment of male and female students. Patronizing. Put down, more responsive to questions from one or the other sex, jokes, etc. This inventory of possibilities should help students recollect relevant incidents.

Find out her reactions to the position professor represented--gave her a new outlook (which?): made her angry?; she agreed?

Interaction with professor outside the classroom. Was there any? How initiated?

Stimulated interest in the materials of the course? Raised self-confidence? Allayed anxiety about performance in course? Opened up some vocational opportunities? Offered general counseling? Created a tie to the college? Lowered interest in subject because professor was too "heavy," gave a more realistic description of the field dispelling illusions about interest or vocational opportunity linked to subject? Was so indifferent or impersonal as to alienate student?

Does student have different expectations of female/male teachers? Expects more support, more personal interest? More intellectual rigor from one than another?

Perhaps the interaction with male or female professors outside the classroom differs in frequency? Be open, of course, to negative answers even after probing: "Were you more surprised or displeased by the aloofness of the female professor when you went to see her than by the same aloofness of the male professor?"

Academic Performance. New Interests, new self-image, lowered, hightened self esteem.

Interviewer: read over relevant paragraph above in Introduction to Interviews.

One way to begin might be to look with the student at what she indicated in 1979 about expectations of academic performance and confront the realities (grades received and current attitudes) one year later. The Introduction to the Interviewer contains suggestions as to questions.

Has she found Barnard standards more, less, as difficult as anticipated? How does she compare in her work habits, amount of work, to her few best friends on campus? Does she feel Barnard students too grade conscious for her comfort? How does it manifest itself? Who knows her grades? Attitudes of mother, father, relatives to her freshman record? Her own feelings? Does she feel better, worse about her freshman record than do friends, siblings?

(To the interviewer: The comparison with others may occasionally reveal satisfaction or dissatisfaction with self, not ascertainable by direct questions.)

GUIDE FOR INTERVIEW

Factor 3. The Student's Social Network

For the Interviewer

As with all independent variables our task is to discover what influences peers (female first, but male also, of course), had upon every one of the dependent variables. Did it anchor i.e., produce no change in the views, sentiments, values the student came with; did it reinforce them; did it move student towards 1) the more traditional or 2) the more feminist pole, did it create cross-pressures and strains.

Whatever we can get on the bases of friendship and clique formation will be very important: the accident of being on the same floor in the dorms, on a meal plan. Continuation of freindship from high school, self-selection, as in joining a racial, religious, some special interest group. It matters, whether the student through such self-selection--exposed herself to, say, Women's Collective which then reinforced her original inclination. We shall want to record whether the student remained resident or commuter throughout the freshman year.

We might begin with the questioning by some such opening as the following:

"Some students were able to distinguish 3 circles of social relations

Very close friends

A crowd I hang out with

People whom I know only in classes or outside, without much interaction

Does such an overview make sense in your case? In any event let us begin

with close friends." (To the interviewer, I am inclined to concentrate first on female close friends, saying we have another section on social life with males but if "crowds" are mixed, males might enter this part of the interview.)

Close Freinds

"Is there some one or more persons whom you would consider close friends? Let us, either use their first names, or use first name initials. How did you meet each?" Let student answer.

If there were cases of fluctuations i.e., "In the beginning of the year I was very friendly with my roommate but then I felt that she was always 'into books' and not funloving enough, too feminist, not feminist enough, got a boy friend and was always running to see him," etc., etc.

Note why estrangement (especially if it has something to do with any of our dependent variables).

Get a list of best friends with names or initials with a breif identification e.g., my roommate, a high school friend who goes to another college. Eventually we will want to know what influences each friend may have e.g., "Clair introduced me to the Women's Collective," "Jane urged me to take course X or buy designer jeans or stop making a fool of myself by insisting on going Dutch on dates...."

We shall also use at appropriate time the particular friends as a way of understanding better the respondent herself--e.g., "Is Claire more (less) likely than you to argue with a person who expresses sexist (or radical feminist, etc.) views rather than to just acknowledge the differences and let it go at that? Is Jane less (more) troubled about occupational, sex, major, etc., etc., dilemmas than you?

Since friends and cliques overlap, perhaps the procedure is to record at the outset what the respondent says about each close friend, move to cliques, and then return to close friends, who presumably might exercise more influence and help define the respondent's views and behavior more fully by data on differences and similarities with regard to dependent variables.

"Crowd" or Cliques

If there exists a "crowd student hangs out with" or a group, find out degree of demographic homogenity: (race, Asian or Spanish Americans, religion, /we can perhaps establish class backgrounds by asking about occupations of fathers/).

Interest and value characteristics of the group? Connected with sports, theatre, Barnard or Columbia publications, radio, dance, student government.

A group with strong emphasis on academic concerns: drugs? music bands? partying and fun loving fraternities? clothes conscious? women's issues activities? religious interests? church or synagogue clubs?

Campus vs. non-campus based groups for commuters.

Close Friends and Associates and Their Attitudes as They Bear on our Dependent Variables

The interviewer may begin by reporting some findings:

"When it comes to the freshman's reaction to Barnard friends, close or not so close, we found variations."

"Some found congenial people with what seemed to be only minor differences in outlook. For others the year was full of surprises. For example, one freshman said she expected Barnard classmates to be intellectual, achievement oriented and was surprised that her roommate would like to be married young and to be a housewife. Another was bewildered by the openness

with which some freshman talked about having sexual affairs. No one in her high school crowd would have disclose to anyone if she did have sex with a guy. Another cannot figure out a friend who is both ambitious for herself and studies hard but also seems to need a guy and has had several affairs during the year. Another fellow student is having an affair with a married man. Some other reactions were also reported. A freshman said that throughout high school her friends, and she herself, played games with the guys in order to be popular and behaved very differently in mixed company. The Barnard students she observed appear freer to speak up and even argue with guys about intellectual or political issues.

If you look back, first at close friends, but than also at others you have met, what would you have entered in your diary, if you had kept one, because it changed your expectations of Barnard, surprised, pleased, shocked, disturbed, stimulated you. Particularly

attitudes towards amount of study, concern with grades, intellectual interests as revealed in class or outside of class

attitudes towards marriage, children

attitudes towards work and future career

attitudes towards women's issues

attitudes towards men

initiative as to calling men

attitudes about friendship with men, playing games to bolster men's ego, sexual relations.

It is probably at this point that you might return to the close friends to find out differences between them and respondent on relevant issues and possibile influences (even if only the realization that unforseen or previously condemned patterns can be tolerated).

Factor 4. Relationships With Men

Begin with a question about alleged difficulty of social life at Barnard/Columbia (to make it easier for students who have nothing to report).

"Some freshmen have found the Barnard/Columbia situation not conducive to socializing with men, either in just friendship or in dating and felt real difficulty in meeting men.

Do you share the view that the Barnard/Columbia campuses and, indeed, the city as a whole do not provide enough opportunities to have a satisfactory social life with men?

What has been your experience with regard to this over the course of the past year?

Let the student give a brief overview of her freshman year. Perhaps, only casual conversations in class, meal time etc.

The only contacts with men were in clubs, organizations, church, synagogue activities, that is in groups without any pairing off.

Some friends (perhaps use initials if more than 1).

Some dating relationships (we cannot at this point ask directly whether one or more lovers with sexual relationships but this may eventually become apparent).

I envision a brief inventory of men who mattered (note whether continuation of pere-Barnard relationship or new) without going in depth.

Relationships With Men Explored Further

To the Interviewer

Our task is to study relationship with men as they have implications for our dependent variables. For example, lack of interest in or "unpopularity"

with men may turn some students towards more dedication to work. Relationships with traditional men (with or without strains) moving students towards less career salience and the more traditional pole. Satisfactory relationships with egalitarian supportive men reinforcing feminist attitudes.

Here, again, one way to begin might be by citing illustration.

Students have made various comments. Here is a sample:

"He could never understand how I could refuse a date because I had to study for a final."

"He annoyed me by always putting down Barnard girls. He said everyone knows they are competative, castrating females."

"He was not interested in friendship, he just wanted to have fun and fun was having sex."

"I was very attracted to him as a lover but he became too possessive and jealous even of my having to do a term paper." "I liked him because he was a good listener and I could talk to him about my personal as well as academic life."

Having given a sample of comments, the interviewer is ready to turn to questions. Review in your mind our purpose. We want to locate the kind and the intensity, from mild to serious, of strains as they bear upon feminine/masculine roles in this period of transition. Reread "Dilemmas of Masculinity" for substantive areas of strain--e.g., "a feminist woman is feeling guilty because she really likes dominant men." "A feminist woman blames herself for timidity in calling men. She fears (actually whether she knows it or not) that many men would consider such initiative not merely aggressive but a sexual invitation."

The interviewer may use these illustrations to evoke reactions.

Turn to Questioning

Let us turn to the guys who mattered as friends or more than just friends, whom you dated.

Begin with John.

"If you could make 3 changes in him what would they have been?"

"If John could make 2 changes in you what would they have been?"

Same with others, if any, more or less significant male associates in the freshman year.

If a relationship was terminated, the reasons for it may be revealing of current strains and relevant to dependent variables.

Factor 5. Extracurricular Activities; Campus and Off Campus

Get a list of clubs, activities, student joined? Joined and abandoned? Why?

Organizations toward which the student is somewhat antagonistic?

How did student get involved in a given activity? (For example, saw notice of a meeting and went; a friend called attention to lecture, meeting and they went and she got interested.)

What outside speakers made a strong impact.

Factor 6. The College Administration, Advisers. The Culture of the Barnard Campus: Is There a Barnard Ethos?

We are interested in any impression you may have received of where administrators, (the President, Deans, the college advisers) stand on the whole subject of women's roles? What philosophy if any is promulgated? What ideals, role models are presented as admirable? How was this communicated? Speakers, outside lecturers who are invited? Comments of avisers?

The following goes back to faculty but one student complained that one of her professors would not be interested in giving much time to any student who has no plans for graduate study.

We have touched upon the different social cliques at Barnard but if someone asked you to define some dominant features of Barnard as compared, perhaps, to other colleges attended by relatives or friends, if you had to sum up such an overall picture of what "goes" is applauded, rewarded or, contrarywise not well accepted what do you perceive it to be?

Let the student volunteer some responces. Having recorded them, test further:

"By and large who is more on the defensive at Barnard?:

A student who says she has no plans for graduate study and wants a large family.

A student who does not intend to have children.

A pre-med a pre-law student who hopes to have a lifetime commitment to a career.

A radical feminist who belives in "women-oriented" women and who believes women cannot expect much help from men in achieving equality.

Who is more admired: A great academic achiever or a student very popular with men?"

Among Columbia seniors in 1970 ("Dilemmas of Masculinity"), Professor Komarovsky found a little under a third to be virgins. Virgins appeared to feel more secretive about virginity than the sexually experienced men about having had such experiences. How is it at Barnard? Are students opposed on moral grounds to premarital sex feel freer to state their position? Are the traditional or the more permissive positions "on the defensive" on

the campus? Does a cautious student have to size up the particular group she happens to be with before expressing the first position, the second position? Does a student who is living with a man feel free to talk about it? Only to one or two closest friends or to others also.

Factor 7. The Influence of the Family in the Perspective of the First Year of College

For the interviewer. Review the 1979 interview and the blanks dealing with relationship with each parent and with "family relationships."

Our optimum objectives:

We want to know what role has each parent, sibling (generally an older sibling, I would assume, or, perhaps, a younger, if there are competitive relationships with them), as other significant relative played in our dependent variables, i.e.,

1) changes in major as occupational plans with no change towards more traditional or more feminist direction
2) changes towards the traditional pole
3) changes towards the feminist pole.

The specific questions which should help to elicit this information.

At some point it will be useful as an indication of the possible role of the family to find out for resident students, (that is, students who did not continue living at home during the freshman year) what was the frequency of contacts, with family, i.e., visits, telephone calls, letters in the course of the first and second semesters.

We need to find out what parental views and influences impinge upon the student, do these coincide with her own? Do possible disagreements cause interpersonal or intrapsychic conflicts? Is student strongly influenced by parental views? Rebellious?

What support, approval, criticism, pressures come from each parent concerning academic life and other features of feminine role listed in our dependent variables list?

Recall that we want to know the points at which the family reinforces certain college influences (which themselves may vary) and the points at which the family creates cross pressures.

One way to approach the problem might be to ask "What are your mother's (and father's) views, if they expressed any opinions on choice of major, choice of future occupation."

For example, on vocational vs. liberal arts emphasis in the choice of courses or majors.

What conversations, areas of agreement, disagreement with regard to the above between parents, or you and mother, or father? Which parent is the more supportive of your own wishes, if these are different from theirs?

Does mother (father) know the grades you received in first, second semester? Reactions? ("They don't realize how different college is from high school" or "They know that I worry too much about grades and they try to reasure me," etc., etc.)

Devise your own questions to obtain the above data. A possible line of questioning might be: "If you had to select one or two main disagreements, area of strain, conflicts between yourself and your mother in the sphere of college (grades, choice of career, major, possibility of taking a semester off, etc.) of future occupation or career; or in the sphere of personal life such as dating, etc., attitude to marriage, future life styles.

What would some of the main disagreements be?

Repeat with father and, if there exists one, some "significant" relative.

Conclusion

Factor 8. Has the freshman year changed you?

Note to the Interviewers

I am interested in checking Lelia Rosen-Young's finding that career commitment in women was associated with seeing faculty outside of class, high grades, discussing ideas with other students, talking over personal matters with advisors, and having few friends, being more lonely than non-careerists.

By contrast, she found that male careerists, if anything, participated more fully in the social life of the college than male non-careerists.

Perhaps being career oriented is not a deviant pattern at Barnard and, therefore, career-salients are not lonelier or have fewer friends than non-career girls.

1983

Barnard College

Department of Sociology

COLUMBIA UNIVERSITY, NEW YORK 10027

Dear Senior,

Three years have passed since you first participated, in the Fall of 1979, in the study of the college experience of Barnard students. The magnificent rate of response in 1979 and again, in 1980 has resulted in significant findings, some already published. We are torn between the desire to tell you everything we have learned up to date, on the one hand, and, on the other, the conviction that such disclosure before the final step of the study carries an almost sure risk of influencing and, thus, distorting the results. The completed study will be published as a book. Inquiries about our preliminary findings have come from all parts of the country and some dozen foreign countries.

We are asking for your cooperation one last time. It gets easier and easier because this time there are only a few questionnaires which should not take more than half an hour to fill out. As in the past, all information is handled confidentially and is not available to any college faculty or administrative personnel.

Please return the filled questionnaires through the campus mail in the enclosed envelope addressed to me. Many thanks for your help.

Some of you, again selected at random, will be approached by me or by one of my research associates for an interview at your convenience. We hope to illuminate in depth the nature of the college experience which all too many existing questionnaire surveys failed to capture. Hard as we have worked and are prepared to work, it is, of course, your willingness to reflect with us upon these significant issues that will make this deeper understanding possible.

I plan to be in my office, 317 Milbank Hall (tel. ext. 5054) daily, generally from 10 a.m. to 3 p.m. I teach only in the Spring term. Please feel free to come in if you have any questions or comments about the study.

With thanks in advance,

Mirra Komarovsky
Professor Emeritus and Special
Lecturer in Sociology
Barnard, B.A.
Columbia, Ph.D., Litt.D.

MK:RV
Encl.

WINTER 1983

F U T U R E O C C U P A T I O N S

Question I.

Please look over the following statements and check the one that comes closest to expressing your present thoughts about post-college work:

Check

_____1. I feel it is too early to know what kind of work I may do after college and have no definite occupational plans at present.

_____2. I wish I did know what I wanted to do after college, but I am quite undecided at present.

_____3. I may change my mind, but at present I am considering several possible occupations. Among these, the most likely three choices are:

a) b) c)

_____4. I shall probably choose one of the following two occupations:

a) b)

_____5. I am fairly certain that I shall enter the following occupation:

What is your current major:

Winter 1983

THE LIFE STYLE INDEX

I. As far as you can tell now, do you plan to continue your education after receiving a bachelor's degree? Please circle the appropriate number:

Yes, graduate school	1
Yes, professional school	2
Yes, other training	3
No, I do not plan to continue	4

III. Below are some conditions under which women work. Rate yourself on these by speculating how you might feel about holding a job after marriage and graduation from college. Circle 1, 2, 3, 4 or 5 according to whether you would want to work under each condition. (Be sure to rate yourself on all 7 conditions.)

	Definitely Not	Probably Not	Undecided	Probably Would	Definitely Would
1. No children; husband's salary adequate.	1	2	3	4	5
2. One child of preschool age; husband's salary adequate.	1	2	3	4	5
3. One child of preschool age; husband's salary not adequate.	1	2	3	4	5
4. Two or more children of preschool age; husband's salary not adequate.	1	2	3	4	5
5. Two or more children of school age; husband's salary adequate.	1	2	3	4	5
6. Two or more children of school age; husband's salary not adequate.	1	2	3	4	5
7. Children have grown up and left home; husband's salary adequate.	1	2	3	4	5

IV. Assume that you are trained for the occupation of your choice, that you will marry and have children, and that your husband will earn enough so that you will never have to work unless you want to. Under these conditions, which of the following would you prefer (circle one):

To participate in clubs or volunteer work	1
To spend time on hobbies, sports or other activities	2
To work part-time in your chosen occupation	
Please check 3a, 3b, or 3c	
To work part-time with preschool children	3a
To work part-time as long as children are of school age	3b
To work part-time whatever the age of the children	3c
To work full-time in your chosen occupation	4
To concentrate on home and family	5
Other (explain briefly)	6

V. Fifteen years from now, would you like to be:

A housewife with no children	1
A housewife with one or more children	2
An unmarried career woman	3
A married career woman without children	4
A married career woman with children	5
Other: what?	6

1983
~~Fall 1980~~

ATTITUDES TOWARDS SEX ROLES[1]

The statements listed below describe attitudes toward the roles of women in society which different people have. There are no right or wrong answers, only opinions. You are asked to express your feeling about each statement by indicating whether you (A) agree strongly, (B) agree mildly, (C) disagree mildly, or (D) disagree strongly.

1. Swearing and obscenity are more repulsive in the speech of a woman than a man.

A	B	C	D
Agree strongly	Agree mildly	Disagree mildly	Disagree strongly

2. It is insulting to women to have the "obey" clause remain in the marriage service.

A	B	C	D
Agree strongly	Agree mildly	Disagree mildly	Disagree strongly

3. A woman should be as free as a man to propose marriage.

A	B	C	D
Agree strongly	Agree mildly	Disagree mildly	Disagree strongly

4. Women should worry less about their rights and more about becoming good wives and mothers.

A	B	C	D
Agree strongly	Agree mildly	Disagree mildly	Disagree strongly

5. A woman should not expect to go to exactly the same places or to have quite the same freedom of action as a man.

A	B	C	D
Agree strongly	Agree mildly	Disagree mildly	Disagree strongly

6. Women earning as much as their dates should bear equally the expense when they go out together.

A	B	C	D
Agree strongly	Agree mildly	Disagree mildly	Disagree strongly

7. Economic and social freedom is worth far more to women than acceptance of the ideal of femininity which has been set up by men.

A	B	C	D
Agree strongly	Agree mildly	Disagree mildly	Disagree strongly

8. There are many jobs in which men should be given preference over women in being hired or promoted.

A	B	C	D
Agree strongly	Agree mildly	Disagree mildly	Disagree strongly

1. Adapted from J.T. Spence & R.L. Helmreich. Masculinity and Femininity, p. 237.

WINTER 1983

ATTITUDES TO WOMEN'S LIBERATION MOVEMENT

1. Please indicate your feelings about the "women's liberation movement" in general by circling one of the choices below:

   a) sympathize greatly, think it is certainly justified

   b) sympathize somewhat, think it is somewhat justified

   c) neither for it nor against it

   d) somewhat against it, think it has little, if any, justification

   e) very much against it, think it has no justification

2. Have you ever been active in the movement in any way? (check one):

   a) yes_____ b) no _____

   If yes, please specify (circle as appropriate):

   a) consciousness-raising group

   b) abortion reform

   c) day-care facilities

   d) demonstrations

   e) conferences, symposia, workshops

   f) other (explain)

1983

5. This is probably the question requiring the most reflection. Think back to the professors you had since entering college and up to the current semester. Which 3 stand out as the most influential in your development? No names required: just Professors X, Y, Z.

Types of influence (check more than one, if applicable)	PROFESSOR X		PROFESSOR Y		PROFESSOR Z	
	Female	Male	Female	Male	Female	Male
Has been one of the most intellectually stimulating						
Provided a model to emulate through other qualities (e.g. drive, compassion, social concern, etc., etc.)						
Has given me encouragement through personal concern in my development						